

It has been resolved, that all advertisements which appear under the Signature of the Secretary to Government, or of any other Officers of Government, properly authorised to publish them in the BOMBAY COURIER are meant and must be deemed to convey official Notifications of the Board's Orders and Regulations, in the same manner as if they were particularly specified to any Servant of the COMPANY or others to whom such Orders and Regulations have a reference.

BOMBAY CASTLE, 21st SEPTEMBER, 1792.

JOHN MORRIS, SECRETARY.

QUARTERLY REGISTER of Sums deposited in the Hon'ble Company's Treasury at Bombay, on account of the Estates of Persons deceased in the Service of the Hon'ble Company, and remaining unclaimed under date the 30th June 1831.

WHEN DEPOSITED.	BY WHOM DEPOSITED.	ON ACCOUNT OF WHOSE ESTATES.	AMOUNT.	REMARKS.
1819.				
November 20th 1821.	J. B. Dunsterville, Esquire, Paymaster S. D. G.....	Lascar Candoo Jadow, of the 5th Company Artillery..	2 1 76	
September 1st 1823.	Lieut. and Adjutant Meriton, of the B. E. Regt.	Private Charles Stevens.....	0 0 93	
		John Burden.....	0 0 09	
June 24th 1823.	Lieut. Col. R. Whish, Commanding 1st Batt. Artillery.	Gunner Felix O'Brien.....	0 0 77	
		Bombardier Thomas Pike.....	14 3 40	
		Gunner George Abery.....	9 0 34	
November 15th 1824.	Major Samuel Strover, Commg. 2nd Ditto..... Do.	Robert Wicks.....	23 3 45	Unclaimed.
		William Hicks.....	10 2 24	
		William Dunn.....	11 0 36	
		John Fife.....	2 1 50	
		Thomas Durant.....	0 2 85	
		John Rowland.....	2 3 40	
		John Hutt.....	1 0 75	
		Joseph Eoleton.....	1 0 75	
		John Nash.....	2 0 55	
		William Clarke.....	4 3 95	
February 10th 1824.	Henry Meriton, Esq. Superintendent of the Marine.	Samuel Low.....	59 1 45	

BOMBAY CASTLE,
ACCOUNTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
21st July, 1831.

ERRORS EXCEPTED.
J. WEDDERBURN,
ACCOUNTANT GENERAL.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN.—That separate Sealed Tenders will be received at this Office on Monday the 1st Proximo, for the undermentioned supplies for a period of 2 years from that date. Lists of the articles to be contracted for may be seen and obtained at this Office daily between the hours of 10 and 5 o'clock.

No reason will be assigned for the rejection of any Tenders, and it is to be understood that the articles contracted for are to be supplied to any Department at the Presidency for which they may be required.

- 1 Miscellaneous Supplies.
- 1 Articles of Stationary.
- 1 Covering and dammering Boxes and Packages.
- 1 Sundry Articles of Hospital Furniture and Wood Work.

H. HOLLAND,
1st Assist. Com. Gen.

BOMBAY,
1st ASSIST. COM. GEN.'S OFFICE,
22d July, 1831. [145]

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN.—That Sealed Tenders will be received at this office until 12 o'clock on Monday the 25th Instant, for supplies in General to the MEDICAL STORES, and PUBLIC DISPENSARY, and on the expiration of the present Contracts, to such other Hospitals and Departments at the Presidency, as the articles included therein may be required for; for a period of 2 years from the 1st Proximo. List of the articles to be contracted for, may be seen and obtained at this office, daily from 10 till 4 o'clock.

The Tenders are required to shew a specific rate for each article; whilst to guard against the practice which prevails of offering low rates for articles, SELDOM IN DEMAND, and exorbitantly high ones for others that are FREQUENTLY REQUIRED; the Assistant Commissary General reserves to himself the right of striking out of any Tender, such articles the rates of which are found to have been made upon this principle.

H. HOLLAND,
1st Asst. Comy. Gen.

BOMBAY,
1ST ASST. COMY. GEN.'S OFFICE,
15th July, 1831. [135]

PATTERN PLATES.

MESSRS. J. COCBURN AND CO. beg to acquaint their friends and the public that they have consigned to their agents, Messrs. J. GILDER AND CO., Plates of a great variety, both of plain and ornamental patterns, for sets of which they will be happy to receive Commission.

LONDON, 1st JAN'Y, 1831.
The above may be seen at the Warehouses of Messrs. J. G. and Co. who will receive and forward all Commissions for the same.

Military Square, 23d July, 1831. [137]

LIST OF UNCLAIMED LETTERS IN THE GENERAL POST OFFICE.

- 1 Jagjevan Callan, Taylor, near Mahd. Suffukah Dallah. Do.
- 1 Emea Narran Sett. Do.
- 1 Hormuzjee Rustomjee, late Treasurer at Sattara. Do.

F. BOURCHIER,
BOMBAY, Post Mr. Genl.
GENERAL POST OFFICE,
22d July, 1831. [129]

ADVERTISEMENT.
APPLICATION having been made to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, that Letters of Administration of all and singular, the Goods, Chattels, Rights and Credits of HORMUSJEE FRAMJEE (Metta), late of Bombay Parsee inhabitant, deceased, may be granted to KHURSEDBOYE, otherwise called METEBOYE, widow of the said deceased, all Persons concerned are hereby apprized thereof.—Dated 15th July, 1831.

E. C. MORGAN,
144 PROCTOR.

જાહેર.ખબર

મરનાર.પારશી.હોરમજી.૪૨૦મજી. મેતા.શ્રી.મુજબનો.રહેવાશી.હોરમેની શરવે.માલ.મીલકતનુ.મખતીઆરનાંમુ. લેવા.સાડુ.શ્રી.મુજબની.જુદીફેરની. શુપરીમ.ફોરદમાં.મે.મરનારની.વીઠવા. ખરશેહબાહ.તેને.લોકો.મીડીબાહ.કરીને બી.ફેરે.તે.બાહમે.મરજ.કીધોકે.મે મહેને.મલે.મે.વાશતે.શરવે.લોકો. જેફોહ.મેનાં.બાબશતા.હોમે.તેનાંમને જાહેરથામે.તા.૧૫ મી.જુલાઈ ૧૮૩૧ છ—શી—મારગીન વકીલ.

ADVERTISEMENT.

APPLICATION having been made that Letters of Administration with the Will annexed, of the Estate and Effects, Rights and Credits of SIMON MARCAR, late of Bombay Armenian, deceased, be granted to MARIAN VERTANESS SIMON, the Widow of the late VERTANESS SIMON, deceased, all Persons interested therein are hereby apprized thereof.—Dated this 22nd day of July 1831.

MORGAN,
[133] PETITIONER'S PROCTOR.
JAHANGEER NASSERWANJEE AND CO.—Have for sale on Commission, at their shop opposite to Government House, the following new Publications

The water Witch by Cooper, the American Novelist 3 Vols.....Rs. 24
Maxwell by Theodore Hook, 3 Vols. 24 [131]

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given, that FURDOONJEE MARUZBANJEE begs leave to state to the Inhabitants of Bombay and other Stations, that all persons afraid of trusting him may come forward and receive all money they may have in his hand at the Bombay Sum-machar Printing Office.

F. M. is induced to make this Notification to the public in consequence of reports prejudicial to his character have been circulated in the Bazar.

F. M. is now making the necessary inquiries for the Authors of such report and is determined to prosecute them when discovered.

Bombay, 21st July, 1831. [121]

જાહેર.ખબર

શરવે.લોકો.ની.શેવામો.શેવક.૪૨૬૫૫ મરજબાંનજી.નમંનતાબથી.મરજ.ફરુચયે જેફોહનું.હમારા.ફર.લેહુ.હોમે.ને. તેની.પતીજ.હમારા.ફર.નહી.હોમે. તેબી.હમારા.મુખબહ.શમાચાર.ખાંનમિ આવીને.પોતાનો.હશાબ.ચુકતે.નાંણાં. લખખમે.મે.ખબર.લોકો.મે.જાહેર. ફરવાનુ.ફારણ.મે.ફેલામે.ફ.કુશમની નીરીતે.હમારા.વેહવારને.નુકશાન.પોચે તેહુ.લોકો.મે.માડું.બાલવા.માંડીફું.તેની ખબર.હમને.પડેથી.નુરતતો. હોમે. આમે.ખબર.શરવેને.આપીકે.મને.હવેથી હોમે.હેવાં.ફરનુક.વાલાલો.ની.શેધમે ઇહમે.તેયોફશ.હમને.શાહેદી.ગવાડીથી શાખેતી.મલેથી.હોમે.તેવા.લોકોને.જન શાખની.જગીમે.પુકહું.હશેતે.પુકીલછશું મેજવીનતી.તા.૨૧ મી.જુલાઈ ૧૮૩૧

NOTICE.—MR. FALLON will be favored by all those Subscribers (who have received his Portrait of Trees, and have not remitted the amount for the same) by doing so soon to Messrs. Wooler & Co.

Should any Subscriber have remitted money in Mr. Fallon's name alone he will oblige by apprizing Messrs. Wooler & Co. of it. [118]

TO BE LET.—The Upper Roomed House, in the Fort, attached to the General Paymaster's Office, to be entered in immediately. For further particulars, Apply to DADABHOY PESTONJEE, in the fort.

Bombay, 16th July, 1831. [136]

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Ecclesiastical Registrar being desirous forthwith to ascertain the total amount of assets left by ANTHONY HAMMOND, Esquire, the late Advocate General as well as the debts due by him at his death, requests all the Debtors and Creditors of the Estate to give him notice of the amount of their respective dues and claims on or before the 24th instant.

H. E. SCOTT, HOUSE,

[120] **PEREMPTORY SALE OF DAMAGED MILITARY APPOINTMENTS** per Jane Young—BECK AND CO.—On Tuesday next 26th instant, will sell by public outcry on account of the concerned, the following assortment of Military Appointments Damaged, but some so slightly as not to be unserviceable, vizt. full dress Cocked Hats and Chakoes, Foraging Caps, Regulation Swords, Gold and Silver Epaulletes and Wings, Silk Sashes and Girdles, Gold Coat Lace and Cord, Gilt Coat Buttons of sizes, Scarlet Cloth and Camblet, Kersymere, Silk Velvet, a variety of Sadlery &c. &c. after which they will be put up a miscellaneous collection of Goods as usual, among which are a few new and amusing Publications to be sold positively to the highest bidder.

[132] Forbes Street, 23d July, 1831

PESTONJEE & MERVANJEE beg to acquaint their Customers & the public in general, that they have lately purchased the undermentioned articles imported per H. C. Ship Herefordshire, & other retail Invoices which have exposed for sale in their Ship in the Apollo Street next to PESTONJEE BHICCAJEE & SONS, consisting of Hodgson's Pale Ale in Casks, best Pale Sherry in Butt & Hogsheads from Pitman & Hollock, being 4 years in B'bay. Port Wine in quarts, best old Cognac Brandy from Harper & Bell, Holland Gin, in cases, French Clar t, Eau de Cologne, Hams, Fine & Berkley Cheeses, Pickles, Salt Tongues, Oilman-stores from Wyatt & Co. Jam & Jellies, Cherry and Raspberry Brandy from Hoffman & Bottled Fruits from Powell & Brown & Kirby, Fancy Biscuits, Currants, Plumbs & Figs, in bottles, Can-naray Seeds, Fine Cutlery from Savigny & Co., Blue Dinner Table Services, handsome Tea & Desert Services, Stone Beer Jugs of different Sizes, Stationary, Dog Chains, &c &c.

[130] Bombay, 23d July, 1831.

NOTICE.—All persons having claims upon the Estate of the late WILLIAM KENNEDY, Esq. of Bombay, are requested to prefer them to Messrs. REMINGTON & CO. on or before the 1st September next, after which date no demands will be attended to in this Country.

Bombay, 21st July, 1831. [119]

ADVERTISEMENT.

ABSCONDED since yesterday, my Wife **MARY McPEACE**, without any cause or reason whatever.

This is to give Notice, that I will not be answerable for any debts &c. contracted by her from this date.

ROBERT McPEACE.

Bombay, 20th July, 1831. [122]

M. R. DALTON, Miniature Painter, respectfully informs the Gentry and Inhabitants of Bombay, that he resides in Armenian Lane, Fort, (near to Myjee's Shop) where he hopes to meet with their patronage and support. His terms for Miniature Portraits are 50 Rs. Sketches taken of Animals and instructions given in Pencil Drawing &c. specimens may be seen at his residence. [117]

ON SALE AT THE GODOWNS OF MESSRS. REMINGTON AND CO.

The following Wines of Superior quality from Messrs. **TODD and BOSANQUET**.

Claret 2d Growth.....Rs. 30 per doz.
Pale Sherry..... 26 per doz.
Buccellas..... 20 per doz.
Port Wine in quart..... 20 per doz.
Do. do. in pints..... 12 per doz.

R. & Co. will register orders for the above Wines to be supplied, whenever the stock may be expended from the first shipments they may receive, and will forward to **TODD and BOSANQUET** orders for annual supplies of the above and other Wines for individuals and Regimental Messes. The shipping prices of all T. and B's Wines may be known on application to **R. and Co.** who will receive payment on the arrival of the orders in Bombay. [139]

ON Sale.—The Grey Arab Horse 'Farnal', for particulars apply to **Mr. G. HIGGS.** [24]

WILL be published early in AUGUST, No. XIII of the **ORIENTAL SPORTING MAGAZINE**, containing—1st. An Account of Hector a favourite Greyhound.—2nd. Q. E. D's Account of a Panther.—3d. Questions from a subscriber.—4th. Propositions by a Pongo for a Sporting Club.—5th. Ride Sportsmen Ride a Song.—6th. Nosing Tom's last but one.—7th. John Dockery redivivus.—8th. Song for the Club of Harmonics.—9th. Neemuch Fly Fishing.—10th. Bushman's account of a Hog Hunt in Guzerat.—11th. Song The Midnight Boar.—12th. The Candesh Clubs.—13. A letter from Old Gooseberry.—14th. Delequin and Honesty.—15th. Meet me when day light may dawn.—16th. Extract from Sporting Recollections of life in the Deccan.—17th. High Flyer on Falconry.—18th Pong es at the Presidency.—19th. The Candesh Clubs by N.—20th. Travelling in Guzerat by W. C. H.—21st. A Looker On. 22nd. Bushman's account of Kangaroo Huntig.

NOTE.—As the Sporting Magazine will go to Press about the 25th of July, communications for it should be dispatched so as to arrive in Bombay on or before that day. [143]

FOR SALE.—At the Courier Office, Bombay Calendars for 1831, 0 0
Indian Calendars for 1831,..... 2 0
Blank Powers of Attorney,..... 0 2
Ditto Interest Bonds,..... 0 2
Do. Policies,..... 1 0
Do. Bills of Lading, per set,..... 0 2
Do. Respondentia Bonds,..... 0 2
Do. Bills of Exchange, per set,..... 0 2
Plans of the Island,..... 1 0
Traveller's Itinerary,..... 5 0
Insolvent Debtors' Act,..... 3 0

LETTER-PRESS PRINTING, neatly executed on moderate terms. [142]

For Calcutta, touching at Madras.
The fine fast Sailing Ship **ASIA** **FELIX, GEORGE HONNER**, Commander, to sail positively on the 25th instant, For Freight or Passage apply to **MANACKCHUND HURRUCHUND** at his office in the Fort near the Bazar Gate. [140]

For London with a prompt dispatch.
The fine fast sailing Ship **SARAH**, **HENRY COLOMBINE**, (late of the H. C.'s Service) Commander. Has excellent accommodations for Passengers, and carries a skilful Surgeon. For Freight or Passage Apply to **MR. GREY**, Fort. [123]

For Freight or Passage to London.
The Ship **EARL OF ELDON**, of 600 Tons, **EDWARD THEAKER** Commander, will positively sail on the 27th July. This Ship has a poop with excellent accommodations for passengers, and carries a Surgeon. Apply to Captain **THEAKER**, or to **MESSRS. RITCHIE, FINLAY AND CO.** [141]

Bombay, 23d July, 1831.

GENERAL ORDERS.

By the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council.

Bombay Castle, 14th July, 1831.

No. 281. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council has been pleased by a Resolution in the Marine Department to place Assistant Surgeon Rupert

Kirk, at the disposal of the Superintendent of the Indian Navy for duty in that branch of the Service.

No. 282. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that the following extract of a letter addressed by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to the Supreme Government in the Financial Department, dated the 2d February last, be published in General Orders.

In reference to our Dispatch in this Department dated the 2d of July 1823, we have to acquaint you that the rate of Exchange for Bills drawn in repayment of advances to His Majesty's Service in the East Indies in the year commencing on the 1st May 1821, and terminating on the 30th April 1832, has been fixed in concurrence with the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury at two Shillings the Sicca Rupee.

Bombay Castle, 14th July, 1831.

No. 283. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council has been pleased by a Resolution passed in the Financial Department, to appoint Captain F. McGillivray to the situation of Mint Engineer and Lieutenant Turner, to be Assistant to the Mint Engineer.

His Lordship in Council conceiving that the services of a Second Assistant to the Mint Engineer may be dispensed with, and that it is unnecessary therefore to keep an Officer from his Regiment on that account, has further been pleased to direct that Lieut. G. Fulljames of the 25th Regiment Native Infantry shall vacate his situation of Assistant to the Mint Engineer on the 1st October next, and be placed at the disposal of the Commander of the Forces.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased at the same time to testify his entire approbation of the Services of Lieutenant Fulljames while holding the situation of Assistant to the Mint Engineer.

No. 284. In consequence of a requisition from the Commanding Officer of the Forces for the Services of Captain J. S. Down, of the 1st or Grenadier Regiment of Native Infantry owing to the want of officers of that rank with the Corps, Captain Down will vacate his Command of the detachments stationed in the sequestered districts South of Baroda, and place himself at the disposal of the Commander of the Forces for Regimental duty.

His Lordship in Council avails himself with pleasure of this opportunity of expressing his high sense and entire approbation of Captain Down's Services and conduct, while in Command of the detachments stationed in the sequestered districts South of Baroda.

Bombay Castle, 14th July, 1831.

No. 285. Lieutenant Colonel Miles having resigned the Command of the Troops at Baroda, the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council has been pleased by a Resolution in the Political Department to appoint Lieutenant Colonel T. Burford of the 8th Regiment Native Infantry to that Command, and to the Conduct of such duties in the Political Department at Baroda, as may be entrusted to him by the Political Commissioner for Guzerat.

Lieutenant Colonel T. Morgan of the 11th Regiment Native Infantry is appointed to succeed Lieut. Colonel Burford in the Command of the Troops at Hursale.

Bombay Castle, 15th July, 1831.

No. 286. Lieutenant G. Candy of the 3d Regiment Native Infantry is allowed a furlough to Europe for the benefit of his health.

No. 287. Major J. G. Griffith Commissary of Stores at the Presidency is allowed leave of absence from the 15th instant to the 21st proximo to visit the Deccan on private affairs.

Bombay Castle, 19th July 1831.

No. 290. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that from the 1st Proximo, the Station of Kulludghie be made a Garrison Station.

No. 291. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council has been pleased by a Resolution passed in the General Department, to extend the leave of absence granted to Assistant Surgeon Jeaffreson from the 6th ultimo to the 6th December next.

No. 292. The leave to the Neigherry Hills for the recovery of his health granted to Captain G. B. Aitchison, Major of Brigade Konkon on the 26th January last, is extended for a period of Six months on the same account.

Bombay Castle, 21st July, 1831.

No. 293. The Commandant of Artillery is permitted to proceed to the Deccan, on duty, for a period of Two months.

No. 294. Lieut. C. Lucas of the Regiment of Artillery is allowed a furlough to Europe for the benefit of his health.

By Order of the Right Hon'ble

the Governor in Council,

C. NORRIS,

Chief Secretary.

HIGH WATER TABLE, JULY 23d 1831.

Saturday	10 59
Sunday	11 36
Monday	0 10
Tuesday	0 21
Wednesday	0 57
Thursday	1 38
Friday	2 23

EXCHANGE.

On London 6 months' sight at 119
Calcutta 30 days 107 B'y Rs. per 100 Sicca Rupees
Madras 30 days 102 B'y Rs. per 100 Madras Do.
Remittable Loan 144 B'y Rs. per 100 Sicca Do.
5 per Cent Loan of 1822 23
according to the period of
discharge. 107 at 116 } Do per Do.
Do. of 1825 26 112 }
Do. of 1829 30 112 }

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES.

ARRIVALS.
Lieut. C. S. Steward, 16th Regt. N. I. from England.
Lieut. and Adj. H. Hollingworth, H. M. 20th Regt. from England.
Assistant Surgeon Waller, M. Establishment from England.

DEPARTURES.
Brigade Major Cotgrave, Artillery to Poonah.
Cadet Chas. Yorke, Artillery to Ahmednugger.
Cadet G. P. Baynes, Artillery Do. Do.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

BIRTH.
At Ahmednugger, on the 6th instant, the Lady of James Brydon, M. D. of a Son.

DEATHS.
At Ootacumund, Neelbhirees, on the 4th July, Jessie, Wife of the Rev. John Cooper, Hurree.

At Byculla, on Saturday the 16th instant, Mr. James Garrett, Printer and Assistant Missionary in connexion with the American Mission, aged 34 years.

SHIPPING REPORTS.

ARRIVALS.
July 20th Ship Sarah, Henry Colombine, Master from London 11th April, 1831.

PASSENGERS.—Lieut. and Mrs. Carney, Lieut. and Mrs. Stewart, Mr. and Mrs. Lugrin and Daughter,

Lieut. Hollingworth and Son, Lieut. Pruin, I. Navy and Mr. Grey, Free Merchant, Mr. Waller, Assistant Surgeon Mr. Jacob, Cadet of Engineers.

DEPARTURES.

None

LIST OF SHIPPING IN THE HARBOUR.

FREE TRADERS.—Earl of Eldon, Othello, Fortune, Sarah.

COUNTRY SHIPS.—Bytongore, Cadery, Maack, born, Sir Charles Malcolm, Dadaloy, Eliza, Asia Felix, Discovery, Duke Roxburgh.

ARAB.—Fazarahaby, Shahool Mahmud.

HON. COMPANY'S RECEIVING SHIP.—Hastings.

DO. DO.—Steamer—Hugh Lindsay.

DO. DO.—Ship—Marquis of Huntly, Duke of Sussex, Hythe, General Kyd, Herefordshire.

DO. DO.—Schooner—Royal Tiger.

DO. DO.—Surveying Vessel—Benares.

DO. DO.—Sloop of War—Clive, Amherst.

H. M. SHIP.—Satellite.

PORTUGUESE.—Brig Amelia.

FRENCH.—Hebe.

BRAZILIAN.—Amezade.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

P. Q.'s request will be duly attended to. We are sorry that we cannot publish D's verses, but shall have much pleasure in inserting those signed G.

THE COURIER.

SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1831.

By the arrival of the *Sarah* from the Downs on the 11th of April, we have received our regular files of London papers up to the 9th of March. As almost all the heads of intelligence contained in them were received via Egypt by the *Amherst*, it only remains for us to extract details of the information obtained by that opportunity. Among the most important, is the debate upon the second reading of the reform Bill, a condensed account of which will be found below.

We observe the *Dorothy* and *Mail* from this port arrived at Liverpool; and the *Janet* and *Elizabeth* in the *Clyde*, between the 2nd and 7th of April.

The present arrival confirms the report which we noticed in our extra of the 30th ultimo, regarding the appointment of Mr. Compton to the Chief Justiceship of this Presidency. We observe that he was presented to His Majesty on the 2d of April by Mr. Charles Grant; and learn that there is every reason for expecting him in the Lord Amherst which was to leave London towards the close of April or beginning of May.

We have extracted below many items of interesting news regarding the affairs of Poland which, although not of so late a date as the accounts we have previously given, are still of considerable interest, as they account in a great measure for the hitherto inexplicable reverses of the Russian Army, the position of which appears by the overflowing of the Vistula to have been rendered nearly desperate.

The affairs of Italy for the present we observe, have ceased to occupy much attention in consequence of the uniform success which has attended the march of the Austrian forces throughout the disaffected portions of that country. It appears to be supposed, however, that the occupation of the Papal territories will be the means of hastening on hostilities with France, where the party in favor of war is daily increasing both in numbers and popularity.

The affairs of Belgium which were looked upon but a few weeks ago, as likely to lead to a war in Europe, appear, owing to the anarchy and confusion which has spread throughout that country, to have fallen into a state of insignificance from which they probably will not emerge for some time to come.

The domestic news from England contains but little either of interest or importance, with the exception of the debates in the House of Commons. We see that on the 17th of March Mr. Stuart Wortley's Bill relating to the Supreme Courts in India was brought forward. The following particulars which are extracted from the Asiatic Journal for April are all that we have been able to obtain as yet, upon the subject.

"Mr. Stuart Wortley obtained leave to bring in a bill to regulate the receipt and further appropriation of fees and emoluments receivable by officers of the Supreme Courts of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and to prevent the clerks of the judges from practising as attorneys or solicitors therein. The hon. member said that the bill had been prepared under the direction of the late president of the Board of Control, and he had thought it his duty to bring it forward, although no longer in office.

Mr. C. Grant had no objection to the bill being brought in and printed, but he reserved to himself the power of objecting to such of its provisions as he might think inexpedient on the second reading.

The bill was brought in and read a first time. The second reading was postponed till April 15. The following is an abstract of the bill: it authorizes the local governments at the three presidencies, when the offices mentioned in the schedule become vacant, to reduce, so far as may be considered reasonable, and as often as

occasion may require, the amount of the fees and emoluments thereof allowed to any officer who, after the act shall take effect, shall be appointed to any such office, and to direct the surplus of the fees and emoluments to be paid into the local treasuries, to be carried to the credit of the territorial revenues. It further enacts that no person, being a clerk to a judge in the supreme court, shall act as attorney or solicitor therein, or share in the profits of any attorney or solicitor. In case the total fees and emoluments of such clerk or clerks appear to the local government not to be sufficient, the same may be increased by a salary, which shall seem reasonable to the said government, to be a charge upon the territorial revenues, with the sanction of the Court of Directors and the approbation of the Board of Control.

The schedule enumerates the following officers, viz. *Bengal*: sheriff, equity register, ecclesiastical ditto, admiralty ditto, receiver, master, accountant-general, keeper of the records, clerk of the crown and prothonotary, sworn clerk, clerk of the papers, examiner, sealer, advocate for paupers, attorney for ditto, chief justice's clerk, senior puisne judges, junior ditto ditto, interpreter, second interpreter of oriental languages, interpreter of foreign European languages, tipstaff, interpreter to judges in chambers. *Madras*: sheriff, master, clerk of the crown, deputy ditto, registrar and prothonotary, examiner, sealer, counsel for paupers, attorney for ditto, chief justice's clerk, senior puisne judge's ditto, junior ditto ditto. *Bombay*: sheriff, master, clerk of small causes, ecclesiastical registrar, examiner on the equity side, deputy clerk to the crown, sealer, prothonotary and equity registrar, clerk to the crown, attorney for paupers.

We have much pleasure in publishing the following letter of thanks from the Passengers of the *Sarah* to Captain Colombine of that Ship, together with his answer upon the occasion.

Ship Sarah at Sea, 19th July, 1831.

CAPTAIN COLOMBINE, COMMANDING SHIP SARAH.

DEAR SIR,

Our Voyage being now almost terminated, we cannot take leave of you without according the sentiments of respect and good will, which your conduct during its progress has so amply merited. While the liberality of your table has commanded our thanks, your kind and attentive demeanour towards us calls equally for the expression of our warm approbation, and we shall feel obliged by your conveying to your Officers our sense of their attention throughout.

With these impressions, and as a token of esteem for your character, we beg your acceptance of a piece of Plate, with our best wishes for your future welfare.

We remain, Dear Sir, Yours faithfully,

John Carney, Lieutenant Queen's Royals.

C. A. Stewart, Lieut. 16th Regt. N. I.

Hy. Hollingsworth, Lt. and Adj. H. M. XX.

J. S. Pruin, Lieut. I. N.

Wm. S. Grey, Free Merchant.

Francis Lugrin,

Thos. Waller, Assist. Surgeon H. C. S.

W. S. Jacob, Cadet Bombay Engineers.

Ship Sarah at Sea, July 19th 1831.

TO THE PASSENGERS ON BOARD THE SHIP SARAH,

DEAR SIR,

I beg to return you my sincere thanks for the very kind and flattering expression of your sentiments conveyed by your letter of this day's date. That you have had reason to be satisfied with my conduct is most gratifying to my feelings, and in making this acknowledgment, permit me to thank you for the gentlemanly demeanour which has distinguished you throughout the voyage, by which every effort I may have made for your comfort has been so effectually seconded.

I shall feel pleasure in conveying to my Officers your handsome mention of their deportment.

The token of your approbation I shall accept with much satisfaction and it will be highly valued in bringing to my recollection those who will ever stand high in my esteem.

With sincere good wishes, I remain, Dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

H. COLOMBINE.

CALCUTTA.

By letters from the Deccan we learn, that the Nizam's dominions are in an uneasy and rather disturbed condition.

The real Minister of His Highness, Chundoo Loll, who has figured so much in the affairs of Hyderabad for many years past, being himself a Sikh (of the Nanuk persuasion,) finds leisure, amid his abundant secular occupations, to charge himself with the spiritual welfare, as Gooroo, of about five thousand Sikhs whom he has collected within the Nizam's dominions, chiefly at Hyderabad, but some at Nandhair on the Godavery, (where they have a college,) and some at Aurungabad.

They are almost all, however, at present, congregated at Hyderabad, it appears, in consequence of a religious quarrel carried on with appropriate virulence between them and the Arab mercenaries of the Deccan. There had always been a jealousy between the two parties, but about two months ago a party of Arab travellers in passing the Sikh college at Nandhair shouted their izzahs or religious exclamations with so much unctious and vicious zeal, as to offend the Sikhs mortally. After a prelude of mutual hard words, they came to harder blows; some Arabs lost their lives, and

many were hurt as it seems: their comrades went off to Hyderabad, and there, proclaiming the church in danger, collected all the Arabs of the city. They proceeded to the Minister (Chundoo Loll's) mansion, and modestly demanded that all the Sikhs in the house, or under his protection, should be turned out and given up to their vengeance as an atonement to the insulted true faith. On refusal they stormed his house; "sauve qui peut!" was the word, and the action was suited to it; he had only just time to escape: several Sikhs were put to the sword, the rest took up a strong position in a street and barricaded it; the Arabs rushed to the assault with fierce shouts, lost at first a number of their body who tasted of the blissful cup of martyrdom, but in the end their desperate courage and repeated efforts eventually carried the position, and slaughtered all the Sikhs they could find. An order was issued without delay by the Nizam, for every Sikh to leave the city immediately, and for the Arabs to remain in quiet within the walls; and in this state matters remained at the date of our last letters; the Sikhs in arms, expecting daily to be attacked by the Arabs. If Runjeet Singh had broken out this year, according to the belief so generally entertained by the natives all over India, it is supposed the Sikhs of the Deccan would have endeavoured to possess themselves, by surprise, of several strong forts, and tried a diversion in conjunction with the discontented Mysoreans and the southern Marhattahs; and it was thought likely, that during the Mohurum (just expired) the Arabs and Soonee Mahomedans of Hyderabad might have broken out. The Sikhs are said to be in a strong position near the city, and if left alone would probably fight a good battle against the city folks. It would be well if, when they have settled their quarrel, the British Troops who are stationed in the neighbourhood as general conservators of peace, were to step in, surround both parties Arabs as well as Sikhs, and march them out of the country, with a polite intimation to the Minister that neither should be suffered to return to the service, or even to the country; moreover that he himself would do well to occupy himself more with sublimity affairs, and less in pious exercises and avocations.

The old and able Minister however, continues to pay and feed his pet Sikhs, while he keeps the regular troops under British Officers in long arrears. At some Stations they have not received pay for February, we are told; nor did there seem any chance of it for a long time. On former occasions the Sepoys, we know, have gone six months in arrears without a murmur (except amongst themselves) against the Government, but it is a dangerous experiment to repeat, and discipline cannot but suffer: soldiers cannot stand sentry for hours without any thing to eat, however loyal, even the ultra-loyalty of the Gendarmes and Swiss Guards in July was not proof against a scant commissariat. Yet such we are told, is very frequently the condition of the unfortunate Sepoy "Regulars" of the Nizam's army; and that instances have been reported publicly where one, if not more men, actually died for want of food. As to the officers they are of course suffering, like their comrades of the Company's Army, under the unsparring clip of the "glittering forfex wide" which "the Peer now wields" against all superfluities of allowance. Perhaps it might not be thought too much even under the prevailing "non-intervention" principle, if the British Authorities were to use a little discreet influence with the devout Minister, and see the remaining pay dealt out with something like regularity.

With regard to the commotions in Mysore, which every body has heard about, and every body talks about, but no body prints about, we know absolutely nothing, so thoroughly in the Madras Press under gag. We wonder the gagers themselves are not ashamed of it; but we must say that the people who endure a needless and discreditable restraint on their reasonable freedom of exchanging opinion and communicating thought, and make no effort to induce their common superiors at home to put an end to this miserable remnant of vexation, can not and do not deserve better. We should be glad if any individuals on the spot would do us the favor of addressing their communications on Mysore and Presidency Civil Wars to us.—*Ben. Hur. July, 2.*

U. S. BANK.—The Boston Patriot says—"A new and most striking illustration of the benefit of the U. S. Bank to the commercial community, is presented in the recent examination of Mr. Bates, of the Banking House of Barings and Bates, of London, before a committee of the British House of Commons, in relation to the China trade. It appears that the bills of the U. S. Bank are now taken by our merchant vessels to Canton instead of specie, and that these bills are sold in CHINA AT AN ADVANCE, being considered as a good remittance to England! This has never been done until 1830. Our merchants have been compelled to send specie, which specie was generally bought at a premium, and was subject to the charges of shipment and the expense of insurance. Added to this, it took out of market dollars, that we afterwards had to repurchase or re-import at an additional expense, in order to keep up the relative values of silver and paper currency. As these U. S. bills come home by the way of England or the continent, if the original shipper has credit with the Bank, it is now possible for him to clear a profit on a trade effected solely on his credit and that of the Bank."—*Ben. Hur. July, 4.*

EUROPE.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

(From the Spectator, April 9.)

THE French Ministers are at present engaged in an enterprise of doubtful policy and uncertain issue—it is their aim to put down the political clubs all over France, not by a direct law, but by dismissing all public officers, high or low, who may have enrolled themselves as members, unless they immediately withdraw from the connexion. The plan is bold, and the execution difficult. The number of Government employés in a kingdom where the principle of "centralization," as it is called, is in full force, is enormous; and if all, or a large proportion of these should prefer the Clubs to the Cabinet, the public service might be seriously embarrassed. On the other hand, it is not to be apprehended that the Minister can gain only hollow and hypocritical adherents in those who prefer the Cabinet to the Clubs? Political associations have been found too generally useful in France, to be readily abandoned; nor are we sure that even were the movement continued until the representation of France was placed on the broadest basis, it would be wise or safe for some time hence to abandon them. The Clubs offer the only machinery by which the scattered and feeble powers of the People can be brought to operate on the concentrated energies of the Government. That which is well known under the name of the "Aide toi," was chiefly instrumental in the election of that Chamber without which the Revolution of July could hardly have been effected. The Society of "Aide toi," was formed with a view to the internal regeneration of France; that which the Ministers are now most anxious to suppress, has been formed not with a view to protection against domestic, so much as against foreign foes. The freedom which France has acquired is well known to have acquired for it the disguised enmity of every despot in Europe. The non-interference principles of the Ministers present, it is supposed or pretended, opportunities which, improved by Austria against Italy, by Russia against Poland, by Prussia against Belgium, will, in the long run, give facilities of attack to Austria, Russia, and Prussia, against France, and thus induce the very calamity which it is ostensibly meant to guard against. The party of the Clubs is thus the War party, and so, averse *pro tanto* to the measures of the Ministry; and they are also the *parti du mouvement*,—that is, of those who are anxious for a complete change of measure, as well as of men—who do not condemn acts because they are done by Charles, and approve them because they are done by Louis Philip, but judge of both by their tendencies; and in this sense also, they are, if not quite opposed to the Ministry, at least not at all with them; for they, as well as their predecessors, are much more inclined to use the rein than the lash. The federate association for the defence of the French territory extends over a large portion of France. That of the Seine, ever the most formidable, consists of a great many thousand members; and in its Committee appear the names of some of the most known men of the capital. Among others, there are Beranger, the poet; Carrel, of the *National*; Cauchois Lemaire, of the *Constitutionnel*; Chardel, Deputy of the Seine; Chatelain, of the *Courrier Français*; Corcelles, Deputy of the Seine; Demarçay, Deputy of the Seine; Dumoulin, of the *Constitutionnel*; Fabre, of the *Tribune*; Fazy, of the *Révolution*; Geullemot, of the *Commerce*; Paulin, of the *National*; Portalis, of the Tribunal of First Instance; Salverte, Deputy of the Seine. Against all these and their companions, Casimir Perrier, an able but an obstinate man, has declared war to the life. It was supposed that the popularity of General Lamarque, a member of the Association, would check the career of dismissals; but Lamarque was sent to the right-about with as little ceremony as if he had been an ensign of six months' standing. If the Minister can do without the Clubs, he will of course prevail; if the Clubs can do without the Minister, they will laugh at the loss of office, to which they must return the instant that the dissolution of the Chambers has placed once more the elections throughout the country at their disposal.

In the mean time Perrier seems to be sufficiently acceptable to the Legislature. The important alterations in the law of elections made by the Peers, render it extremely doubtful whether a new bill will not be necessary. The extraordinary grant demanded by the Cabinet, of 200,000,000 francs, will be granted without difficulty, but not without discussion. The debates, indeed, have been both long and animated, on that and on all the subjects, direct and collateral, which have come under the consideration of the Chambers. We have been so weighed down with the debates of our own House of Commons, that we are almost afraid to venture on those of the French Deputies.

On Monday, General Lamarque made a fierce attack on the Ministers. France, according to the General, is in pretty much the same condition as an unfortunate cock at Shrove-tide, tied to a post for every clown to have a hit at. Not a treaty entered into with it for the last forty years has been observed longer than it was convenient to the parties.

"Spain, it is true," said the General, "has no longer colonies; Holland possesses only a nominal power; but Austria has gained 13,000,000 of subjects, and England has attained the highest point of prosperity, reckoning 100,000,000 of inhabitants. Prussia is at our gates, and her sentinels are in front of ours. All is aggrandized around us, and we have no longer the France

of Louis the Fourteenth: all is united around us, and we do not possess one ally."

The gallant General alluded to the protocol of the 20th January, which he said destroyed the independence of Belgium and to an ukase of Nicholas, which was to let loose on regenerated France 150,000 Russians.

His arguments were enforced by M. Mauguin, who holds that war, and war alone, can give stability to a new dynasty; and who contrived to make rather a good point, by showing, that all the preparations of France since the revolution in July had been called for by the warlike preparations of other Powers.

The Minister for foreign Affairs made a matter-of-fact, and on the whole a convincing reply, to this declaration. First of the ukase—

"This ukase, so confidently invoked, is apocryphal; the genuine document does not contain one single word of war, but, on the contrary, gives fresh assurances of peace. Then comes the appeal to facts. What has the protocol of the 29th of January established? It proclaims Belgium independent, and prescribes to Holland to return within the limits she possessed in 1790. All that composed the kingdom of the Netherlands will form part of Belgium, except Luxembourg. The negotiations yet unfinished on that subject impose on me some reserve. However, let us examine it. A great part of the province of Luxembourg took part in the Belgic insurrection: the city of Luxembourg took none; it is occupied by a federal garrison of 3,000 Prussians, and 2,200 Belgian subjects of the King of Holland. You ought to declare war. War against all—such is the conclusion of honourable members. My adversaries will, doubtless, acknowledge with me that the real bond of nations is now in the community of the principle that governs them. Turn your eyes around. By what governments are we surrounded? Is not Switzerland free and independent? Look at Baden, Wurtemberg, Electoral Hesse, and Saxony. All those powers which compose the Germanic Confederation, excepting Prussia and Austria, are now governed by constitutions, the principles of which accord with those of our political organization. The honourable deputies have talked of negotiations which, before the insurrection of Warsaw, were opened between Russia and Poland, the object of which was to induce the Polish army to march against France. I confess I cannot comprehend how negotiations are conducted between a sovereign who commands and subjects who obey. This appears to me an entirely new principle in politics. But it has been said, other facts speak plainer still. You are, it seems, ignorant that Baron Stroganoff, Major General in the Russian army, was some time ago at Berlin, commissioned to stipulate a passage for the Russian troops through the Prussian territories. There happened to be another personage at Berlin—no other than Field-Marshal Diebitzsch himself, and it was to him that these negotiations, if any such there, were must have been intrusted; and I am happy in being able to declare to you what must, after all, have been the result of these deep negotiations. Prussia, firmly determined to act upon principles that would ultimately tend to preserve peace, has displayed both wisdom and moderation, and presented to all other nations an example of policy which tends to preserve the repose and harmony of states from every attack. But Austria, they add—for they must run through all the states of Europe—Austria! see with what indefatigable vigour she pursues her warlike preparations. Ambassadors, to whom the King has been pleased to grant his confidence, have been mentioned. It has been asked whether he who has the honour to represent the King of the French at London, grounds his policy upon principles in conformity to the interests and dignity of France, and upon respect for the liberties of nations and the independence of states? It is sufficient for me to remind you of the career of that able diplomatist, who, at Vienna, after all our disasters, succeeded in concluding a treaty, the stipulations of which aggrandized the former territory of France. As to his Majesty's ambassador in Russia, if there is any man truly worthy of representing France and her King, it is the Duke de Mortemart. I shall conclude with a very few words more. You have never desired peace—neither in the month of August, nor in the month of December, nor in the month of March. We, however, have always hoped that we might be able to preserve this great blessing for our country, and we will use all our efforts to maintain it still."

If other nations respond to the good opinion of the French Cabinet, all may yet go smoothly; we fear, however, notwithstanding the earnest endeavours of M. Perrier after peace, that there are principles at work in the East and the North, which will render it impossible to preserve it long, unless by the sacrifice of what is still more important even than peace. There is yet no small portion of the old leaven to be worked out of the mass of Continental policy, before the fermentation will cease.

The Austrians appeared at the gates of Bologna on the 21st of March; they entered the town on the 23rd, when Cardinal Oppizoni, the legate *a latere*, again took charge of the civil government of the revolted city. The first act of the Cardinal was to order a solemn Te Deum for the victory of the Emperor, and the re-establishment of the authority of the Church. The troops did not stop at Bologna, but pushed onward in their march to the Ecclesiastical States. Rimini and Forli were occupied on the 24th. The Austrian forces consist of about 24,000 men! they profess to march on Rome by the express invitation of the Holy Father

himself. In Upper Italy, the insurgents are every where dispersed, or in prison. The Italian accounts speak of an army of Liberals having retired on Ancona, where they mean to attempt a stand.

The severity of Maria Louisa, since her reinstatement in the palace of Parma, from which she was so rudely ejected, has given rise to much complaint.

The French journals speak of a Congress at Rome, for the purpose of arranging the differences between the Emperor and the Italian States. Their differences, it would appear, are pretty well arranged already. The insurrections put down, and the old Government every where restored, he can ask no more; and a Congress, unless it acted as never Congress acted, would give him no less. The only intelligible course for France, had she been misadvised to oppose his aggressions, was to check him *in limine*—to tell him plainly and boldly, that the moment he overpassed the boundaries of his own states, he should be held as having declared war against her.

The affairs of the Belgians, external, and internal continue to exhibit a melancholy picture of weakness and recklessness. The laws are without energy, the government without power, the legislature without influence.

At Antwerp, on the 31st of March, a serious riot broke out, in which the adherents, and those who were considered to be adherents of the Orange cause, were indiscriminately attacked. The mob attacked the offices of the *Journal d'Anvers* and the *Journal de Commerce*, whose windows they soon destroyed; they then proceeded to the house of the cédant Burgomaster, where they broke both windows and doors, and sacked the house from top to bottom. The next object of their attack was the mansion of the ex-Colonel of the Garde Communale; which, however, they did not succeed in entering. They then visited the ex-Procureur du Roi; where they gained an entrance, and destroyed every thing. The exciting cause of these troubles, is said to have been an injudicious cry, raised by a merchant of the city, of "Vive le Prince d'Orange!"

The riots at Antwerp were merely disgraceful: those which have occurred at Ghent exhibited features of more revolting and cowardly atrocity. We give the particulars in the words of the Belgic journals. "Ghent, April 4.—A deplorable event has just afflicted our city. M. Voortman, a manufacturer, was seized by the populace at the door of his manufactory, to which he had come in a cabriolet. He was accused of Orangism. The mob went to his manufactory to demand some cannon said to be deposited there. M. Voortman, on his way to the place, was warned of what was passing, and advised to turn back: trusting in the arms he carried about him, he unhappily persisted, and when he got to the place, was attacked and disarmed, and required to give up the cannon, which he refused; he was then led away by two soldiers of the civic guard, and the mob carried him about the city; on the bridge of Ecluse a dagger dropped from his coat, on which a woman struck him in the face with a wooden shoe, and drew blood. The soldiers in vain tried to protect him from the popular fury, one of them received several blows aimed at the unfortunate manufacturer who, when they reached the market-place, was promenade three times round the tree of liberty, against which they dashed his face and horribly mutilated it. They then led him through several streets to the parade, where Baron Coppens saved him from being massacred, and had him taken to prison, to rescue him from inevitable death; but probably this succour will prove to be too late. The surgeon who dressed him, found that he had eleven bayonet and two sabre wounds. His life is despaired of. It is reported that the vengeance of the people was drawn on him by his having said to his men, who asked for work, 'If you have nothing to eat, go and suck the tree of liberty which you have planted.' Nothing is left of the manufactory but the bare walls."

From the speech of this M. Voortman, it may be concluded that he had rendered himself unpopular by his personal as well as political behaviour; but what is to be said of the laws or police of a city that permits a man to be dragged from street to street, and murdered by inches, in open day? And what it is to be said of the wretches—women too—who could continue for hours inflicting on a human being, however disliked, such a series of barbarities? The slaughter of the man at once would have been defensible, compared with such lingering torture.

The National Congress continue their debates after much the same fashion as usual. Great regret is now expressed by the Members of the Government, that instead of returning the protocols of the Allies, of the 17th November and 20th December, which seriously trench on the independence of the States, the Congress contended itself with merely protesting against them. The proposal of raising Prince Leopold to the throne of Belgium has been more soberly entertained within the last few days than at any former period. The popular, or Anti-Orange party, seems well disposed, provided he will accept of them. There would be one great advantage in being in Belgium—if the Prince and his subjects, disagreed, he could in four-and-twenty hours take up his old quarters in Pall Mall; it might not have been quite so easy to get out of the Mores.

The Dutch States-General met on the 2nd instant: when a discourse was pronounced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he says, that notwithstanding the assent to the protocols by Holland, and the hopes founded

on them, no progress towards a settlement of the disputes between Holland and Belgium had been made.

"The Powers represented in the Congress of London," said his Excellency, "were treated in a manner that could not be expected in civilized Europe, even in the midst of war. Our territory is continually violated by Belgian marauders, who make individuals residing near the frontiers feel all the hardships of war. The communications with Maestricht are in some degree open, but the Belgian troops have by no means retired to the positions which they occupied before the 21st November 1830; nay, the Belgians have gone further, and publicly propose to renew hostilities with us. The Regent has sworn to a constitution which is at variance with the rights of Holland, and with the protocols of the Five Powers, and in his installation issued a proclamation which shows a manifest disregard to all that has been done."

The speech concludes by expressing a hope that the hour is not distant when the Powers may think of opposing with vigour the unjust pretensions of the Belgians. The Powers, at present, seem to have enough to do with their own affairs.

Letters and journals have been received from Warsaw of the 23rd of March. The Diet resumed its sitting on the 22nd. According to all accounts, the condition of the Russians is even less enviable than the speculations of the Parisian journalists had conjectured. We noticed in our Postscript last week, a calculation of *Le Temps*, which went to prove that the circumstances of Diebitsch were all but desperate,—that it must take the labour of no less than 50,000 horses per day to keep his troops in provisions and his cavalry in forage, and that the distance between him and his resources was daily lengthening. Since the accounts were received, on which the calculations of *Le Temps* were formed, it would appear that the Vistula, which had been impassable from the 5th of March, when the ice broke up, had swollen to such a degree as to flood the whole of the right bank. On the 16th, General Geismar, who was posted before Praga, was compelled to retreat in the utmost haste. He was harassed in his retreat by the Polish Garrison; from whose attack, and the waters, it is admitted his troops suffered severely. The right bank of the Vistula is so nearly on a level with the river, that once overflowed, the waters do not soon leave it; there have been instances in which it has remained flooded for months. The troops of the Czar are then in eminent hazard; and unless they can contrive to march not a few leagues from the field of their anticipated triumph, they may perish altogether. It seems admitted that Diebitsch, whose head quarters are said to be at Macejowice, will not be able to attempt any enterprise of moment until the return of fine weather, and the advance of summer enable him to receive reinforcements; before which time, it may be presumed, either France or England will have so interposed as to render reinforcements unnecessary.

At a period when the fate of Poland depends on the turning of a hair—when liberty and prosperity on the one hand, and slavery and ruin on the other, are so nicely balanced that no one can for see which shall preponderate—it is gratifying to the friends of the oppressed, that the Poles possess in Earl GREY, the excellent head of our Cabinet, a warm and enlightened friend. We are indebted to the *Chronicle* for the following copy of a letter written by the noble Earl to Prince KOSCIUSZKO, so far back as 1814. It would be at any time interesting, but the position of the Poles and of Earl GREY gives it at this moment a political as well as moral value.

"Portman Square, 1st July 1814.
"General, I request you to accept my thanks for your letter of the 20th of May, which was delivered to me by Court Krukowiecki, and for the flattering expressions with which you have been pleased to honour me.

"Be assured that it is impossible to take a deeper interest than I do in the fate of Poland. The calamities of that brave but unfortunate people, their constancy and their virtues, of which you, General, have given personally so illustrious an example, cannot fail to excite the sympathy of hearts truly imbued with the principles of humanity and justice.

"I am convinced that an enlightened policy is equally favourable to their just claims. To the first violation of the sacred principles of general liberty, which took place in the partition of Poland in 1772, and those which followed in 1793 and 1795, ought to be attributed all the dangers to which the whole of Europe has since been exposed, and from which we have so happily escaped. There can exist no real security against the return of these dangers, if Poland remain excluded from the benefit of the general deliverance which, in order to be perfect, ought to be guaranteed by the solemn recognition of the rights and the independence of nations.

"If the Powers which seek to profit by the injustice, and which in the sequel have suffered so much, could learn the true lesson from experience, they would perceive that their security and their mutual tranquillity would be better preserved by re-establishing among them, as a state truly independent, that country which a false policy has so cruelly oppressed.

"These sentiments, General, are profoundly engraven in my soul; and you may be assured, that in order to declare them loudly, I shall neglect no occasion in which I may believe I can do so with effect. If, during the late debates in Parliament, I have not dwelt so much on this subject as I could have desired, this proceeds from the certainty

which I had that I could in no way influence the policy of the Government; and the fear of adding, perhaps, to the dangers which threaten the fate of a people whose cause is so dear to me, but whom present circumstances deprive me of all hope of serving.

"Receive the most sincere assurances of my respect and my admiration, and believe me, General,

"Your very faithful and very humble servant,
"GREY."

The arrivals of this morning bring us what may be looked on as a great curiosity of its kind, an address from General Yermoloff to the Russian nation, calling on them to demand from their Sovereign the blessings of a constitution! Yermoloff had a command in the Persian war, and was afterwards disgraced. He is supposed to be organizing an insurgent force on the Wolga, from the banks of which he dates his address. It has been very extensively circulated. The Czar has now to combat the weather, the Poles, his own subjects; and if the rumours may be relied on, he will speedily have to meet the Turks and Persians also. West, east, south, round him and above him, every thing is hostile. He may get out of the toils which his tyranny has woven, but we rather think he will not. In the meanwhile, the immediate objects of his vengeance are safe, and the ultimate objects of it may take counsel at leisure.

An express from Madrid, dated 26th of March, speaks of the anger of the people, on account of the harsh and odious measures of the Government, as at its height, and that commotions may be speedily looked for, which will throw the nation into confusion, if ameliorations in the political system be not conceded. The plan of a new Ministry has been handed round, at the head of which is old General Castanos. The *Memorial Bordelais* speaks of his exploits at Baylen. We saw lately, an account of his exploits at Talavera, where he arrived on the field of battle in a vehicle somewhat resembling a broken down Lord Mayor's coach. There is not much danger to the despotism of Ferdinand from such a Premier.

The French papers mention a bloody conflict which took place on the 18th of March, in Murcia, between a regiment of Marines and that of Soria.

"It being Lent, the chaplain of the latter was appointed to preach a sermon, and the two corps were assembled in the same church. During the service, the Marines could not refrain from laughing at the others, who, during the recital of the *Salve Mater*, were seated on the ground with their legs across, like so many tailors." These terms so exasperated, that on quitting the church they assailed the Marines, and a terrible battle ensued. The combats have since been so constantly renewed, that the inhabitants have shut up their shops and confined themselves to their houses, and patrols constantly parade the streets; but all these measures have not as yet succeeded in restoring order."

A letter dated Bayonne, March 27, says—"Torrijos is in the Sierra de Ronda, in the environs of Malaga, with 3,000 men. Don Rodrigo Aranda, formerly an Alcaid, has been arrested in Madrid; and Francisco Brindas, formerly a Corregidor, Malcuesto, an officer of Engineers, committed suicide at the moment he was about to be conveyed to prison. M. Millin, a bookseller, Puente, an advocate, Ybecete and Alceja, rich merchants of Bilbao, Regato, a physician, chief of the Comuneros, and Perez, a physician, are also in confinement."

The same letter which mentions these arrests, speaks of a widely-extended conspiracy as having been recently discovered.

THE ARMY.

WAR-OFFICE, March 15.

4th Light Dragoons: Surg. D. Perston, M. D. from the 26th Foot, to be Surg. vice Thompson, deceased—13th Light Dragoons: Major R. Brunton, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Bowers, whose promotion has not taken place—2nd Foot: Lieut. H. F. Cavendish to be Capt. by purchase, vice Lawson, who retires; Ens. T. Sealy to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cavendish; H. Faulkner, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Sealy—26th Foot: Assist. Surg. W. Bell, M. D. from the 40th Foot, to be Surg. vice Perston, appointed to the 4th Light Dragoons—30th Foot: Major H. E. Robinson, from the 48th Foot, to be Major, vice Cramer, who exchanges—40th Foot: Staff-Assist. Surg. J. L. Hartwell to be Assist. Surg. vice Bell, promoted to the 26th Foot—48th Foot: Major H. Cramer, from the 30th Foot, to be Maj. vice Robinson, who exchanges.

WAR-OFFICE, March 22.

20th Regt. of Foot: Lieut. R. G. Johnston, from the half-pay of the 66th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Saunders, appointed to the Royal Newfound. Vet. Comp.—75th Foot: Lieut. J. Tyner, from the half-pay of the 6th Foot, to be Lieut. vice R. Preston, who exchanges—Royal Newfound. Vet. Companies: Lieut. R. Saunders, from 20th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Small, appointed to the 60th Foot.

WAR-OFFICE, April 4.

4th Regt. of Light Dragoons: Assist. Surg. J. Graves, from the 38th Foot, to be Assist. Surg. vice F. G. Walbran, who retires upon half-pay of the 48th Foot.—38th Foot: Assist. Surg. J. Robertson, from the half-pay of the 45th Foot, to be Assist. Surg. vice Graves, appointed to the 4th Light Dragoons—40th Foot: Staff-Assist. Surg. J. Archibald, to be Assist. Surg. vice J. L. Hartwell, whose appointment has not taken place—45th Foot: Lieut. W. H. Butler, to be Capt. without purchase, vice Archer, promoted.

*The custom of sitting cross-legged is common throughout Murcia and Granada; it is a relic of the Moors, which their zealous persecutors unconsciously kept up.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 22.

What, if it were an ordinary case, might be termed the grand stage of the Reform Bill, is safely passed; the Bill was read a second time on Tuesday, after a two-night's debate, more remarkable for its want of novelty and want of logic than for any quality of positive good or evil. The majority of one, viewed in relation to the materials of which the minority was made up, and to the principle included in the decision, is not unimportant. Of the 301 who voted against the bill, there were not fewer than one hundred who were directly interested in its failure—men who were equally impelled by gratitude to their patrons and love for themselves, to oppose it. It is also to be remarked, that in the debates which preceded the second reading, no one in the House raised his voice against Reform, but against the Ministerial plan of Reform only. So that the great principle for which the King, the Cabinet, and the Nation contend, may be looked on as unanimously conceded in a House (including the twelve that paired off, and the tellers) of 617 members, the greatest number that ever was congregated within the walls of the Commons House since its institution.

In relation, however, to Parliamentary tactics, this victory of the Ministers would be only as a defeat—it will not suffice to carry their Bill to the stage where it becomes law—if they were not at the same time armed with an invincible power in the firm support of a patriot King and the just confidence of an united People.

The House of Lords have had their share, this week, in the discussion of Reform, with frequent protestations against the irregularity of which they were voluntarily guilty. On Tuesday they are to discuss it at length on an incidental motion of Lord Wharfedale's,—thus, "Even in their penance planning sin anew."

These desultory notices have not been wholly useless; they have called forth some brilliant flashes from Lord Brougham, and some weighty sentences of statesmanlike truth from the Marquis of Lansdowne. The Earl of Carnarvon has cause to remember the witty Chancellor,—as Lord Wynford has to rue his "poggon" attack on a cognate subject, the Bankruptcy Bill. The most important effect, however, of these occasional conversations, was the grave, deliberate, high-toned avowal made by Earl Grey, of the inflexible resolution of Ministers to pursue their forward and honourable course; an avowal which gave additional dignity even to that most dignified of modern nobles.

The Parliament, as usual, has exhibited during the week its variety of the *seria mista jocis*. Sir Robert Inglis made a fierce attack on the *Times* on Monday, owing to some liberties, that the leading Journal had taken with the nominee members. He was cheered on by the reverend Mr. Perceval—a young gentleman whose temper and taste are not indeed very well suited to the *times*. Sir Robert was very severe on the people of the gallery.

Last night, the Civil List was discussed; when the 24 per cent. reduction of the Committee was, on the suggestion of Lord Althorp, given up, Ministers undertaking to regulate the salaries so as not to disappoint the public. They cannot disappoint it more than the Committee has done.

The cupidity of the Bishop of ELY, or of his keepers, came under the notice of the Lords last night. Lord Brougham's complaisance in the case of the Bishop seems remarkable.

1. THE TIMES AND THE ANTI-REFORMERS. Sir Robert Inglis, on Monday, brought under the notice of the House the conduct of the *Times* newspaper in advocating the cause of Reform against the borough patrons and their nominees. He admitted the *Times* (of which, however, he was not a reader) to be respectable in point of talent, whatever were its merits in other respects; it had, moreover, a large circulation, and it arrogated to itself the title of the Leading Journal,—circumstances which gave to its statements a currency and importance which called for the attention of the House where an inferior journal might be allowed to escape without notice. The matter of which Sir Robert chiefly complained had appeared in a series of attacks, commencing on the first of March, on all the members of the House who had ventured to oppose the Reform Bill, as wholly unworthy of the seats they occupied. If these things were permitted, they would no longer be free legislators, deliberating with one another on the good or evil of a great measure, they would be such legislators as, in the times of the French Revolution, the National Convention were, with the *poissards* in the gallery. Sir Robert conceived that members would betray their duty to themselves and to the constitution if they suffered such insults to be poured out upon them. The passage to which Sir Robert particularly adverted was the following:—

"The unanimous enthusiasm of the people of England in defence of the national rights and liberties was never so manifest within our recollection as on this present question of the Reform Bill: nor have we found recorded a single instance of rich and poor, high and low, men of all conditions, professions, and fortunes, feeling an equal sympathy in any cause, except, indeed, that of war against some hated public enemy. That enemy is now the usurper of the people's franchises—the cutpurse of the people's money, the robber of the public treasury under the forms of law—of law enacted by the plunderer himself to favour his own extortion—his own systematic conversion of the fruits of other men's industry to selfish or criminal uses. When, night after

night, borough nominees rise to infect the proceedings of the House of Commons with arguments to justify their own intrusion into it, and their continuance there, thus impudently maintaining what the lawyers call 'an adverse possession' in spite of Judgment against them, we really feel inclined to ask why the rightful owners of the House should be longer insulted by the presence of such unwelcome inmates? It is beyond question a piece of the broadest and coolest effrontery in the world for these hired lacques of public delinquents to stand up as advocates of the disgraceful service they have embarked in."

Sir Robert was repeatedly interrupted, in reading these extracts, by cheers from various parts of the House. He went on—the course he meant to adopt was the same as had been adopted on a similar occasion by Mr. Fox, in respect of an attack against the House which appeared in the *Public Advertiser*. He should first move that the clerk read that portion of the extract commencing "When night after night." This was done, and Sir Robert then moved that the paragraph was "a false and scandalous libel on this House, directly tending to deter members of this House, from the discharge of their duty, and calculated to alienate from them the respect and confidence of their fellow-subjects."

A member, whom "the *poissards* in the gallery" did not know, seconded the motion. He had himself been one of the victims of the times: being pointed to, in report of a City meeting, as one who must be either a fool or a knave. He had been inclined to bring the matter before the House, but had abstained, from his being so young a member.

He thought the present a case well deserving of the attention of the House, whose duty it was to take some course by means of which they might defeat and put a stop to the licentious and unwarrantable attacks of the press. It was not that members of the House felt their own bosoms reproach them,—it was not that they experienced any alarm at the menaces held out, but there were considerations affecting their constituents, and ignorant persons out of doors, which rendered it desirable, and indeed made it the duty of the House, to check this course of abuse and scandalous libels.

Lord ALTHORP suggested, that such a resolution required previous notice; but Sir Robert Inglis assured his Lordship that he had studied the precedents and acted accordingly.

Mr. CALCRAFT said he should oppose the motion, simply because he did not think the paragraph complained of would tend, in the slightest degree, to deter the Commons of England from a proper discharge of their duty. He deemed it, besides, most unbecoming and ungracious to attempt, by a preliminary discussion of this sort, to divert the minds of members from the great question about to come before them. He would neither defend the language of the paragraph nor condemn it; but one position he would contend for—the press of the country must remain free. If there were libels published, so scandalous that they could not be passed over, the Attorney-General was the proper person to look to them: the House had never gained in the opinion of the country, nor ultimately in its own, by such a proceeding as was now pressed on its acceptance.

Mr. BARING joined Mr. Calcrafft in deprecating the motion of Sir Robert Inglis: he equally deprecated any reference to the Attorney-General. The question the House was about to discuss that night was, whether a great change should be made in the constitution of Parliament. If they forbid a public writer or the public voice to be heard on such a question, they in reality said that there should be no deliberation in the country at large on that important subject. From an apprehension which neither he nor any one opposed to the bill felt, that such writings went to abridge freedom of discussion in the House, Sir Robert Inglis would have them put an end to all freedom of discussion out of it. Mr. Baring concluded, as Mr. Calcrafft had done, by requesting Sir Robert Inglis to withdraw the resolution.

Mr. PERCEVAL differed from both the previous speakers; he thought Sir Robert had done wisely in bringing forward the motion and that if he were to withdraw it, the House would lose, and justly lose, its character with the country. The question having been brought forward, the House had but one course—they must accede to the resolution.

Sir Francis Burdett said, the public press of this country had most industriously, carefully, and laboriously, with the most persevering industry, with great talent, with unabated zeal and patriotism, and with unbending integrity, advocated the great and good cause now at issue between the borough-mongers and the people. As to the conduct of the House on the motion before it, he was perfectly indifferent to its vote. He would say the same of Reform—the fiat had gone forth from the people, and obeyed it must be. And as to the character and dignity of the House being violated by this honest writer, members themselves must be secretly ashamed of the assertion. (*Cheers, and loud cries of "No, no."*)

Who would deny this, after the fact having been so repeatedly and publicly stated, that the corruption of that House was as notorious (and was admitted and allowed to be as notorious) as the sun at noonday? After this it was ludicrous to hear members talking of the privileges of the House being violated, and its character lowered, because the press had dared to speak out and tell the truth. (*Cheers and murmurs.*)

The hypocrisy of attempting to convert a subject of this kind into a question of privilege, while the privileges of the House, as expressed in their standing orders, were publicly, openly, and approvingly trampled on, was quite sickening. It had been asserted that the House must adopt the resolution of Sir Robert Inglis, or consent to give up all claim to the confidence of the people—

At this moment, in the eyes of the public at large, the House of Commons did not possess a

single particle of confidence. He repeated, the House had utterly lost the confidence of the people—that confidence had been destroyed many years ago. This was now generally admitted; and so was the corruption of the House—the true cause of the loss of confidence.

Sir Francis went on to notice the case of Mr. Quintin Dick, who was compelled to quit his seat for a Treasury borough because he would not vote for ministers in favour of the Duke of York. When, in consequence of the discussion arising out of Mr. Dick's case, the conduct of Ministers in tampering with the return of members to the House came to be debated, they walked out into the Lobby, not to incur the scandal of sitting and voting while their own actions were under consideration.

Let the borough members referred to have the decency to follow this example. He hardly flattered himself that they would, although they might as well do that as adopt a contrary course, and it would be more becoming in them to yield with a good than with a bad grace. Of this let those gentlemen be assured, that whatever vote they chose to give, its effect upon the great cause, and its value with the public, would be just as if they whistled to the winds. (Cheers, murmurs, and cries of "Question!")

Sir Charles Wetherill replied with great heat to the hint to retire, thrown out by Sir Francis Burdett.

Since he first sat in that House, a more dictatorial speech—more dictatorial in language, more dictatorial in manner, more dictatorial in principle, more dictatorial in matter, more dictatorial in the arrogance with which it was delivered, he had never heard. (Cheers and laughter.) Yes, he asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the dictatorship of the honourable baronet, the member for Westminster and man of the people—the tyranny transferred from the hustings to the debates of that House, which the honourable baronet had displayed—he had never heard equalled. According to Sir Francis, the members for boroughs to be disfranchised must retire, Sir Charles was one of them. (Laughter.) Did the honourable baronet dare to tell him—did he presume to call on him—did he venture to insult the House and the country, by calling on him—equally a gentleman, equally independent in principle as the honourable baronet himself—to quit the House? (Repeated cheers and laughter.) Could Sir Francis imagine—could he enter into his mind—to suppose that he would condescend to retire from any place where Sir Francis was a member? (Hear and laughter.) Could he suppose that Sir Charles would leave those benches while the member for Westminster had a seat upon them; he could not sufficiently admire the arrogance of any member in calling upon him to walk out of those doors while the honourable baronet was sitting upon the leather-covered cushions of those seats. (Laughter, "Question?" and cries of "Oh, oh!") Where was it, in what portion of the doctrines of liberalism that the honourable baronet found this single and individual superiority of opinion, entitling him to blackball every member who did not happen to concur with him in his revolutionary principal of jacobin revolution? (Laughter.)

Sir Charles sat down, in a state of violent perspiration declaring that he most heartily concurred with Sir Robert Inglis's motion.

Sir CHARLES FORBES said he had intended to bring under the notice of the House an article of the *Times* of the 2nd of March; but having consulted with two or three members more competent than himself to judge of such matters, he was induced, on their representations, to refrain. He had been a good deal influenced also by the consideration, that, after all, these libels were but the opinions of the individuals that wrote them—

All those infamous paragraphs which we daily saw were the attacks of cowardly assassins who dared not to put their names to their paragraphs—cowardly, licentious libellers, who, if they had the spirit, would be assassins. He trusted that the country had more good sense and sound judgement than to be led away for one moment by what these papers stated. He had, within the House and out of the House, heard all well-judging persons who had read the passages, speak of them in the most decided manner, as base and libellous, and in the highest terms of indignation. He had never heard any person defend those attacks, except the honourable baronet the member for Westminster. The cause was worthy of the defender, and the defender worthy of the cause.

Lord ALTHORP, admitting that the paragraph was a breach of privilege, was by no means prepared to admit, as a consequence, that the proposed mode of treating it was a proper one. He could not think it prudent or politic, at a period of so great excitement, to use such a strong measure as that recommended, because the press might have used terms that were not wholly justifiable. He should, therefore, move the previous question.

Mr. J. CAMPBELL concurred with Lord Althorp.

Mr. W. WYNN said, that the question having been brought forward, the House must do its duty; it must support its rights and privileges. He could not, therefore, support the amendment of his noble friend.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM regretted the determination of Mr. Wynn; he regretted the occasion which had given rise to it. It was impossible that on such great questions as they were about to discuss, which this question of privilege now interposed to prevent, strong feelings and strong language should not be experienced and employed on both sides. Sir Robert Inglis complained of the Reformers of the press, but might not a complaint be brought against the Anti Reformers of the press also?

Was the public expression of feeling and opinion, on this occasion, confined to one side only? Sunday, after Sunday, some good-natured friend, who he supposed had recently left the "warm precincts" of office, not without casting "a longing, lingering look behind," had assailed him (Sir James Graham) with "What will they say to this at Cockermouth?" "What will you say to your Cumberland constituents on such and such a point?" He was vilified, his motives misrepresented, his public conduct passed under a severe and unjust review; but did he complain? Far from it. Such strictures only impelled him to discharge his duties frankly, freely, and fairly, in that manner which appeared to him most likely to prove beneficial to his country. (Cheers.) But if a course of severity were adopted with reference to one side, it would be wholly impossible, in common justice, not to visit, on the other side

those who stigmatized the measures introduced by Ministers as revolutionary, and who abused, in the foulest manner, those who supported it, as individuals who wished to overturn the constitution. (Cheers.)

Sir James said, the late Secretary-at-War, Sir Henry Hardinge, had declared that the measure of Ministers would make the crown sit loose on the King's head: that expression had been carried forth, and repeated and commented on—was there anything said on the other side of the question that was stronger than that? If they proceeded in the course chalked out by Sir Robert Inglis, they might as well choose the gallery at once, and put every institution of the country to hazard.

Sir HENRY HARDINGE said, there was no parallel between his expression of opinion in the House and this libel in the *Times*. He was as free at that moment to deliver his sentiments on the Reform question, or any other, as when he sat for Durham and had twelve hundred constituents.

Why, then, should the Member for Westminster say, that because he represented a borough, he was not fit to perform his duty in that House? Why should the honourable baronet presume to state, that he could not faithfully discharge his duty, because, for the last three months, he had been returned for a close borough? If such an imputation were directly cast at him, he would fling it back with deserved scorn. (Hear, hear!)

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT begged leave to tell those honourable members who, alluding to him, had asked, "would he presume," and "would he dare," to do so and so, that he would always presume and dare to do and to say whatever he considered most conducive to the rights, liberties, and the privileges of the people of England. (Hear, hear!) Sir Henry Hardinge had placed himself in an awkward situation: he said that he had no constituents. (Cries of "No, no!")

Sir HENRY HARDINGE—"St. Germain's retains in 1831 more voters than it possessed when its charter was granted," more voters than it comprised at the revolution of 1688; and so far from there having been a diminution of voters in the last fifty years, the number has, on the contrary, increased." (Hear, hear!)

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said he understood Sir Henry to have stated, that he represented one of those close boroughs which were at the disposal of a patron. An individual so returned might be capable of performing official duties extremely well; but his vote would not carry the same weight, especially on a question of this kind, as if he represented a large body of constituents. (Hear, hear!)

Sir ROBERT INGLIS said, he might have consented to withdraw his motion, had any one risen to defend the paragraph; but, as it was, he must persist in it—he had no alternative. He should add to the words of the resolution, that certain passages of the *Times* of the 1st, 2nd, 7th, and 8th of March, were also false and libellous.

Mr. HUNT, amidst great confusion, declared that the language, whether coarse or not, was true—the question therefore, was, whether they would agree to declare that to be false which every man in the House knew not to be false.

Sir ROBERT PEEL, amidst cries of "Divide!" said, as other passages than that which the clerk had read had been referred to, it was necessary they should also be read.

Sir ROBERT INGLIS objected to occupying the time of the House so long; he added, that his intention was to call on the Attorney-General to follow up the vote of the House by a prosecution of the offenders.

Sir THOMAS DENMAN expressed his surprise at the delay which had taken place in bringing the case before the House; the last of the papers alluded to was dated a week back. He was also surprised, after Sir Robert Inglis had obtained from him a private opinion on the subject, that he should now come forward and call on him by a vote of the House to prosecute, where his sentiments were already known.

He certainly considered the paragraph submitted to his notice a breach of privilege, but he could not say that it was false. He thought it had a tendency to irritate the enemies of Reform, and that all such language should be avoided. He relied upon the honour rather than the fears of borough nominees; and he had no doubt whatsoever that Reform must be carried by a large majority. (Cries of "Hear, hear!" and "No, no!") Well, be that as it might, he considered that the agitation of this question now, after having slept a week, could only be intended to obstruct the discussion of the great question of Reform, which was fixed for this night; and he further thought it was now the duty of the House to come to a decision upon the motion.

Sir ROBERT PEEL was still of opinion that all the extracts to which the resolution had reference ought to be read. He had not heard the commencement of the debate, nor was he aware of the intention of Sir Robert Inglis to bring it in.

Mr. SLANEY thought the motion would serve the cause of Reform instead of injuring it.

Sir ROBERT INGLIS proposed to comply with Sir Robert Peel's suggestion. This, however, was clamoured down, and the House was cleared; but Lord Althorp's amendment of "the previous question" was carried without a division.

2. SECOND READING OF THE REFORM BILL. When the House had passed from the long and angry discussion on the subject of the *Times* newspaper, Lord John Russell moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Bill for amending the Representation in England and Wales.

Sir HENRY HARDINGE requested to know when it was meant to introduce the Irish Bill? They were about to debate the principle of a measure which was only partly before them.

Mr. STANLEY made answer, that the Irish

* 5 Elizabeth. The number of voters are 79

Bill was quite ready to be brought in; but it was the understanding of the House that he should go into a somewhat more detailed statement of that measure than Lord John Russell had submitted. Whenever it was the wish of the House that he should do so, he would enter on that task. The order for the second reading being then read.

Sir RICHARD VIVIAN, a member for the county of Cornwall, rose to oppose the bill. He commenced by stating, that he had no personal interests stimulating him to the course he had chosen; he was owner of no borough, in Cornwall or elsewhere; the bill would rather benefit than injure him—the division of counties which it contemplated would render future canvass more easy and more certain. Sir Richard admitted that he and his constituents did not think alike in respect of the Reform Bill; it was not to be denied, that wherever Lord John Russell's speech had circulated, a strong wish to support the Ministry had been excited. With the certainty nevertheless, that he must displease his constituents, he would still oppose a measure which he deemed pregnant with danger to the community at large.

When the noble person now at the head of the Government introduced in 1793 his plan of Reform into the House of Commons, the aspect of affairs, both internal and external, very nearly resembled what they now beheld; yet the circumstances of the country are, in many respects, more threatening now than they were even at the commencement of the first French Revolution.

Knowledge had become so extended since then—the people now were so easily excited on political subjects—that every man was stigmatized as an aristocrat who was in opposition to any plan of popular Reform. We had at present a greater degree of excitement and irritation among the people, as had lately been witnessed in the agricultural districts. Foreign affairs—as his noble friend at the head of that department could tell, who was now engaged in more important negotiations than it had fallen to the lot of any minister of the country to be engaged in for years—foreign affairs, he repeated, presented more points of difficulty than at any period of modern times. Ireland, though lulled, is in a state both dangerous and deceptive; at no one period of its history were its worst agitations more to be dreaded than its present repose. Looking, then, at this situation of the country, he must say, that the time chosen by Ministers for bringing forward this measure was most injudicious; and, on that ground alone, he should be justified in opposing it.

Sir Richard went on to say, that never having voted on the question of Reform, except against Mr. O'Connell's motion for ballot, he was nowise pledged on the subject; but he must oppose the Ministerial plan, from a conviction that it was a revolutionary one—that it had the elements of discord in it—that it would be destructive to the interests of our Colonies—that it would, at no distant period, prove subversive of the Peerage and of the Monarchy. He should oppose it in principle and in detail; for the details involved so much of the principle that he had no alternative but to reject it altogether.

The history of all nations, showed, that changes which placed large powers in the hands of the democracy were ever the precursors of Revolution—of a revolution fatal to the security of property.

A revolution might be effected by foreign interference, or by the army, or by the executive authority in the state taking to itself an undue share of power, without endangering property; but a revolution, produced by too large an accession of democratic influence, would have the direst tendency to which he had just adverted. France had experienced this once or twice before the catastrophe of 1789; and it was unnecessary for him to say how little the right of property was respected in the events which followed that period.

He did not affirm that Reform must be at all times and under all circumstances injurious—that the constitution of England could go on from century to century without alteration or modification: it was on the principle of policy, not from hostility to Reform abstractedly considered, that he opposed the bill. If he were told that resistance would, under present circumstances, lead to revolution, he should answer, that this Reform Bill was revolution. If the bill were passed, it was impossible to say how soon he might stand at the bar of the House or at the bar of a Committee of Public Safety for defending the most sacred institutions of the country.

The feelings of the people were the result, not of one cause, but of many.

The existing excitement had not been produced by the declaration of the Duke of Wellington, nor had it been produced by the French Revolution; the Birmingham Union existed six months before either of those events; petitions praying for Reform were presented to that House throughout the whole of last year. A vague and indefinite desire of change had long been engendered among the people; and that desire had been inflamed by the denial on the part of the last Parliament of the existence of distress in the country.

But above all things, the present cry for Reform had been stimulated by the course pursued by the Government.

"The Ministers came into power upon giving three distinct pledges—first, peace, when the very mention of peace was deeply dangerous to the honour and independence of this country; secondly, retrenchment, when they ought to have known that retrenchment was perfectly and utterly impossible; thirdly, Reform. But then not one word of the distresses of the people; not a syllable with regard to our monetary system; or the real causes of the disturbances which then prevailed throughout the sufferings of the people, or to administer to their wants. If you refer to the people of England, and ask them what advantage they gain by it—if you meet men in their shops, in the street, in public or in private, not one amongst them can explain in what respect his situation will be improved by this so-called Reform." (Cheers.)

Sir Richard could see no advantage to the public, the candidates, or the voters, from the

grant of a franchise upon a house rented at 10l. a year.

Such voters would still continue to be a source of corruption; and such a low value of houses would, in reference to elections, be highly injurious to the general welfare. Once let them grant this Reform, and who would say that the ballot would not immediately follow it? The tithes, of course, must be expected to go; and even Lord John Russell admitted that the shortening the duration of Parliaments was a matter for future consideration. If the tithe was attacked, as no doubt it would be, upon what security could property rely for support? Attack the tithes and the landed property, and what remained but an attack upon the funds and the rent of the landholders? Did the House imagine, that after the present Parliament had declared itself corrupt and abominable—that it had been guilty of enormities which the member for Westminster had said that nothing could exceed—did they imagine that the new, the Reformed Parliament, would take up what their wicked predecessors had begun or continued? (Cheers.) Why, then, he would ask, could any man support this measure who wished to preserve the institutions of the country, and who saw that tithes, rent, funds—all must be destroyed by the system of which it formed the first step? Could any man support it who saw this, and that, with other property, all the accumulations of the savings' banks, amounting to twenty millions of the poor man's property, must likewise be sacrificed in the general wreck—for there was as much danger to these small sums invested in the funds, as to the larger ones belonging to a different class of individuals. (Cheers.) There was a common danger for the rich as for the poor. Of course, if one description of property went, all went; small sums were held by the same title as the thousands and the millions.

An *Aide toi Society* had been formed to put men into Parliament; and it would be seen what sort of persons would be returned under this system, for many of the individuals had already been pointed out. One was qualified by his writings in a newspaper, another by a pamphlet, a third by a book. Among the rest, was Mr. Mill, who had written a book on India. Sir Richard had examined, from curiosity, the doctrines of Mr. Mill, as laid down in his writings; and one of the doctrines he found to be, that as those measures of government which led to a gradual increase of population, and the bringing under cultivation of inferior soils, did as effectually tend to enhance rents as if such enhancement were the subject of a direct law operating instantaneously, therefore the Government were as much entitled in the one case as they would be in the other to appropriate the augmentation to the use of the State. Such was the political economy to be preached to a Reformed Parliament!

We had before us examples pregnant with instruction upon this subject.

Let us look to Portugal. Let us look to Spain. Let us look to Ferdinand, not recognizing for so long the Bonds of the Cortes, and then only doing it in the shabbiest way. Let us look to the instance of the French Revolution. There we have written, in letters of blood all that can happen in a state where those in command from intimidation, surrender the power have in their hands, and cease to regard themselves as the sovereign authority, and look to themselves for assistance. There they will see through every step of degradation, a constitutional body becomes a national convention—a constituent assembly—call them what you will—till anarchy rules the land.

Sir Richard thought he could point out a period in the history of France before the first Revolution, similar to our own condition at present.

That period 1788—when the great dissensions arose between the King and his Parliament, and the people refused to pay his taxes. We are arriving very fast at that same position. In that year the King and his Parliament having quarrelled, the States-General were summoned, Necker being at the head of affairs. In the first instance, the Notables devised an alteration in the constitution of the States-General—in fact, a French Parliamentary Reform; and the King was advised by Necker to give double votes to the *Tiers Etat*. What was the consequence? Men were in that body who were never before in the possession of power, who had to pay the taxes whilst the nobility paid nothing. (Hear, hear!) Thank God, we are not in that position, for the rich, in almost every instance, contribute to the burdens of the state in equal proportion. These were the men to whom this new power was given, and was it to be expected they would allow matters to remain as they were? Having the double vote, the first thing they did was to get the other houses to join them, so as to form one mass. The nobles and the priests resisted, but in vain. The next thing they did was, without consulting the King, to change their name and call themselves the National Convention. Then came the points of intimidation to which I would particularly call the attention of Ministers, as they appear to me most peculiarly applicable to the present case. The uncertainty, the instability of all affairs in France was urged; massacres were excited by the most infamous means. Thousands of pamphlets were printed and published, all urging one point; the press was bribed; persons even were paid in distant villages to read the most revolting and outrageous articles to those who could not read themselves. Every means was resorted to, to excite and inflame the minds of the peasantry, and make them believe that all superior to them were diabolical tyrants. Thus things went on, till that fatal day, the 4th of August 1789, when, after one great debate—one great vote given under the influence of one overwhelming panic—the National Convention at once conceded tithes, manorial rights, of chase and the game laws (for real evils and imaginary ones generally go hand in hand), the rights of fishery, and every thing that before constituted privilege. Tithes were at last abolished, but it was not till the clergy for three days had been threatened with massacre. These things being conceded, bills were brought in, and the blessed reform was carried; and the King, the saviour of his people, went with the National Convention to sing a "Te Deum" for this happy result. Is this nothing? Is this no lesson to some individuals now pressing matters in the manner they are? (Cheers.) Let them see this popular King, this idol King on the 4th of August—nay, all through the month of August 1789—within three months taken in his carriage to Paris with the heads of two gendarmes, who had nobly died defending his person from the attack of an infuriated rabble, carried on pikes one on either side of him. This was a popular King, the King of the people in the month of August! (Continued cheers.) Trust to passing popularity, and there is no safety for the state; for the very persons who hate you will

praise you at the moment you do that which is to accomplish your own ruin. Those who look for gain to the property of others, who have lost all character and honesty, will praise you in such moments; and is that a popularity to be courted?

Sir Richard defied any man to prove an instance in which a constitution had been forced from below, that had had any other result than revolution. Take our own revolution of 1688 for example.

"It cannot be doubted, that Judge Jeffries had completely terrified the land; and, unless William had landed with an army at Torbay, we should never have had the family of Brunswick upon the throne. That was a revolution effected by a power called in by the aristocracy, and is abused by those who want one now. That was a revolution of the aristocracy—that which they want to bring about, is a revolution of the democracy. In all new assemblies, there are many good men—many real patriots—who are easily gulled and led away; and of course there are many profligate politicians. In the French National Convention the good were at first the majority, and the bad the minority; and so it happens in almost all assemblies, that in the first instance the bad are in the minority, but at last they get to be the majority, because they have a spirit of movement, of determination, which makes them more resolute in the prosecution of their objects."

If we were so placed that some mighty change must be made, was the present measure such as great nations had pursued in similar crises?

"Rome in days of peril had a dictator, and God grant that the time may never come when the world, weary of the tyranny of many, may sigh for one. In Venice, where the most complete system of aristocratic tyranny ever invented was in full play—where the aristocracy were at once Peers and Commons—what did they do to give stability to their government? Did they try to enlarge the basis of the executive government, and call a certain number of persons from the senate? No—they first created the Council of Ten, and afterwards the Inquisition of State. Although they knew perfectly well when they appointed both those terrible councils, the last, the most remarkable instance of absolute authority given to invisible men ever known—although, I say they knew, in appointing them, they themselves were subject to them, we find that the state of Venice was saved, and that in all cases of dictatorship till the last, Rome stood."

Sir Richard wished to refer to the speech of the Lord Advocate (Mr. Jeffrey), which, clever as it undoubtedly was, offered ample room for animadversion. The Lord Advocate had said that we had increased in wealth, and ought, therefore to increase in freedom; and had cited the cases of the Italian republics and the history of our own country after the civil wars.

"But has the learned Lord reflected either upon the history of Greece or of Rome? Has he seen that liberty has there followed wealth? Has he looked to the history of Persia? Did he find that wealth followed freedom there, or did a brave and hardy people, becoming enervated with wealth, fall under a tyrannical government? What did he find to be the case in Athens and Sparta?—what in Rome? Does he recollect the eloquent thought of a noble poet, now no more, perhaps one of the greatest this country ever produced—Lord Byron, in the ruins of the Palatine Hill, the Capitol on his right hand, and on his left, said,

"This is but the same rehearsal of the past,
First freedom, and then glory—when that fails,
Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last;
And history, with all her volumes vast,
Hath but one page."

Sir Richard intended to move that the bill be read a second time that day six months; but before he did, he would explain his reasons. The bill appeared to him so radically bad in all its details, that it was impossible to be moulded into any form; he therefore considered it of no use to suffer it to go into Committee.

"I think the plan gives an undue influence to towns. As the Ministers were determined to remodel the constitution, and frame a new legislative body, they might have taken, if they pleased, the whole of the population or taxation of the country, and divided it into departmental divisions, as in France; or they might have kept the same system of boroughs, without attempting to introduce one universal qualification. They have adopted neither of these two courses, but have done away with all the advantages which arise from the variety of our elective franchise. They have done away with that system by which all classes, all professions, all interests were represented in this House. I do not enter into the question of abstract right, but it is certain that the House of Commons, as it is now constituted, represents all the interests of the empire, which it certainly will not under this bill."

With regard to the property which was made the foundation of the franchise—

"Does the possession of a freehold of 10l. qualify a person to choose a proper statesman to make the laws which shall govern the land? A man with a 10l. freehold, more than a man with one of 9l. 19s. 6d.? The property then is taken as a guarantee, yet we hear of population. The wisdom of our ancestors, in framing this constitution, now so much derided, thought it right to scatter the franchise through the different boroughs of the country, and did it in every possible variety of form, so that every description of persons might find the means of election. That this somehow obtained the guarantee so much desired, is clear; for the system has gone on working marvellously through many ages, although against all the theories of all the books written upon it."

When this measure had been disposed of, as he confidently hoped it would be, Sir Richard intended to propose some resolution which would give assurance to the country, that the House was determined to strengthen its representation.

"I do not give the exact words of the resolution at present—(Laughter)—but I pledge myself to do so; nor do I give my plan of Reform—(Laughter)—for it is absurd to suppose that any man can improvise a constitution in a day. (Cheers and laughter.) Indeed the noble Lord himself has found some difficulty in it, and has not failed to fall into some great blunders. Some instances come within my personal knowledge of towns which are not rated at the population they possess, not from any wilful mistakes in the noble Lord, but from want of local knowledge, having taken into account too few or too many parishes. If the noble Lord, with six months' time to arrange his plans, and acquire a knowledge of the details, has

fallen into error of this kind on the matter of fact, I may well be excused from not now offering any new constitutional plan to the consideration of the House. The resolution I shall propose, however, will show; that those members who reject this bill as revolutionary, and have a tendency to destroy the King's authority, have still an inclination to go to a certain extent in Reform."

He concluded by moving that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT, member for Northamptonshire, seconded the amendment.

Mr. SHIEL, who was lately returned as member for Milborne Port, made his first speech in the House. Sir Richard Vyvyan, he said, had travelled all over the globe; but, by a strange oversight, he had forgotten to say a word about that spot of it with which he was best acquainted, and which was most nearly connected with the subject in discussion—Cornwall. It was strange, that one who must be so perfectly conversant with its workings, did not favour them with some illustrations of the close borough system in its favourite retreat. He could only account for such a strange neglect by the fact of Sir Richard's having taken so enlarged a view in politics, that he could not discern the objects of petty interest that lay close to his feet. Mr. Shiel was not ambitious of so wide a range as Sir Richard had taken. He would limit himself, in supporting the changes proposed in the bill, to a single fact—he alluded to the Union with Ireland.

By that proceeding, not only was the Irish Parliament abated, but the whole structure of the British Parliament was changed. Was not that a greater innovation than any which could result from the proposed additions to the county members; and was not the incorporation of one hundred Irishmen, differing in habits and having at one time distinct interests, a change more violent than the intended substitution for the representatives of places of which the streets could only be traced by the colour of the corn, and of which the only manufacture is in members of Parliament? If it should be suggested that there was a difference—he would admit that there was one—the Union was carried by expedients which, in the judgment of a rigorous moralist, must, to employ the softest term, be considered questionable; but here the Minister endeavours to accomplish a noble object by exalted means.

This was one modification of the Commons House of England, and but a late one; but there were modifications yet more recent.

If he adverted to the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders, it was not to go over an argument which had been already so much relied on, but to ask what answer had been ever attempted to that important precedent. The Minister mowed down, with a single sweep, the franchise of 200,000—Irish peasants if they pleased—but British subjects after all. Defects, imperfections, vices necessarily incidental to their condition, these persons might have manifested; but call it fanaticism, call it agitation, call it superstition, or anything else, it must still be owned that these men, in a great emergency, did great things and that it was a fine spectacle to see them throwing off in an instant the servitude of centuries—standing up in the attitude of freemen—withstanding with a dauntless intrepidity the little tyrant of their fields, and, in a cause which they felt to be a just one—looking ruin in the face. And if to them the House showed no mercy—if to them they dealt with a relentless, though he was sure that it was a reluctant rigour, he might be pardoned if he presumed to ask, in the name of plain consistency and of British justice, what peculiar virtue could be detected in burgesses and corporators which should excite a sympathy so profound—should awaken so much Parliamentary tenderness, and stir to their depths the springs of legislative commiseration? (Cheers and laughter.)

It might be said, that the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders was an act of necessity: was the pressure of necessity which called for the Reform Bill less urgent? It was idle to conclude, because the discontent of England had been but recently manifested, that it was of recent growth; it was useless to attempt to connect it with the affairs of the Continent; it was absurd to attribute it to the press. A reasonable man would ask if the discontent were well founded.

That was the main question—almost the only one. Were all the evils of which the press said the people complained, merely imaginary? Had they no existence, except in the distempered fancy of political hypochondriacs, or was there a gangrene that could be felt and touched, and that was visibly and palpably eating its way into the vitals of the state?

It was superfluous to dwell on the present state of the representation: one broad fact was sufficient to describe it,—one hundred and fifty men returned a majority of the House; four or five boroughholders could control the Minister, dictate to the Sovereign, and domineer as they listed over the people. The system was vicious in principle—it was yet ranker in its details. Seats in Parliament were the common everyday subject of purchase and sale. The very technicalities of legal conveyance had been employed in their transference.

Boroughs had been made the subject of marriage settlement, and had been put by the ingenuity of conveyances through all the diversities of matrimonial limitation. (Cheers.) The House had all heard that a Sultan on her marriage usually had one province awarded to her for her necklace, another for her bracelets, and a third for her girdle. Under the system of Parliamentary proprietorship, it would be no matter of surprise to see a lady of fashion receiving Old Sarum for pinmoney and Gaton for her dower.

The system was as destructive to morals as to freedom. The venality of the few was copied out on the corruption of the many—the example of the wealthy man faithfully followed by the poor.

When high and mighty Lords transmitted their interest in Parliament into sordid money, by what an easy progress of imitative alchemy would the humbler voter effect a similar conversion of his miserable sufferage; How could we condemn bribery, in the one, when we gave it a countenance in the other; Was the grossness of the prostitution palliated by the largeness of its wages; was the enormity of the offence in the inverse ratio of its remuneration? (Hear?)

Could any one wonder that such practices had excited but one feeling among the reflecting portion of the community? And yet, there were men who would cling to the system out of a mere love of its deformities.

"Turpia deipunt cecum viia, aut etiam ipsa hæc. Delectant; veluti; Balbinum polypus Hagnæ."

The close boroughs, it seems, were the postern-gates by which genius crept into the citadel of the nation. Great names had been numbered up, but what were they to the obscure crowd by which they were surrounded? Even if these postern-doors did admit as much genius as it was alleged they did, and if the shutting of them up were to exclude it, what was all the genius of the nation to that House, compared with the deprivation of public confidence?

It was said that the Reform Bill would endanger the landed interests—would the addition of fifty-five country members do so? It would injure property—would the giving of the franchise to the wealthiest towns and cities in the kingdom have that effect?

Then came the grand objection—the change would not be final:

What was there in human affairs that was! It has in it as deep a principle of permanence as can be perhaps desired. The people ought not to be contented with existing abuses, but they ought to be with their proposed remedies. All just grounds of complaint would be taken away; and it was reasonable to anticipate that the characteristic good feeling and good sense of the British nation would take upon this measure a firm stand. The objection that this measure was not final, embraced all change, and comprehended all Reform. It was the favourite ritual of every idolater of every abuse. Beware, they exclaimed, of innovation. "All this," said Lord Bacon, "would be true, if time stood still, which, however, moveth so round, that a forward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as innovation." Were the dangers all on one side. The opponents of Reform looked only at the possible dangers of concession, without any regard to the evils of denying it.

We pass over several other points in Mr. Shiel's brilliant address, and come to the peroration.

Who were the opponents of the Bill?—They might be counted. Who were its advocates?—Millions of Britons with their Sovereign at their head; they had listened to the voice of Ireland, would they be deaf to English invocation? If Ireland had force enough in her arm when she struck at the door of the cabinet to make the mighty captain start, was the hand of England so feeble and so powerless that they would not awaken at the thunder of her knocking? (Loud cheering.) Ireland was now in a state of evil susceptibility; the House should recollect that it was their own doing. These were the results of years of agitation, produced by the madness of delay. Let them beware now they put England through a similar process or excitement. Would they tarry until a great confederacy should have sprung up? Until rostra agitation should have been raised in every district? Until the popular passions should have been maddened by ferocious eloquence, and infuriated by revolutionary harangue? Then, indeed, they would have cause to speak of the influence of the democracy; then they would find the demands of the nation swollen into perilous enormity; then they would behold the power of the people dilated beyond its just, and natural, and constitutional proportions, and ascending into a gigantic magnitude. Concede; and that they might concede in safety, concede in time. (Loud and continued cheering.)

Mr. R. L. DUNDAS had been induced to permit the bill to arrive at its present stage that the public might judge of its expediency. If he could indulge a hope that it could be safely sent to a committee, he would consent to its being read a second time.

"But as, in my opinion," continued Mr. Dundas, "this bill contains so little that is beneficial, and so much that is dangerous—as it has a direct tendency rather to impair than to invigorate the constitution—as we are now required, without form or precedents, without proof of grievances, to apply a sweeping change to a mechanism so delicate and complicated as that which regulates the movement of our constitution—I think it more advisable to reject this measure altogether, rather than hold out any expectations—expectations which, I am convinced, cannot be realized—that so extensive a system of Reform as this will ever receive the sanction of any portion of the Legislature. Sir, I say that this measure is introduced in defiance of all precedent, because I cannot discover in the annals of our history, in which the deliberations of this House were not restrained by coercive and unconstitutional means, a single instance of persons holding the responsible situations which the right honourable gentlemen opposite now hold, bold enough to recommend to this House and to the Legislature a bill for Reform which has on the face of its preamble the subversion of established rights, the validity of which have hitherto remained unquestioned."

Mr. Dundas would not be deaf to all Reform, nor question the power of Parliament to dispose of the privileges of any class of persons for the benefit of the state. He did not arraign the power of the House, but the justice of the measure.

In 1785, when Mr. Pitt brought forward his project of reform, the existing rights of individuals and corporations were carefully preserved, and were so materially to constitute a part of the fabric of our constitution, that, however defective they might appear in a theoretical point of view, they could not be assailed without injury to the whole structure.

Lord John Russell proposed to diminish the number of members.

Sir, the only precedent on which he can justify that part of his plan of Reform, in to be derived from a period of our history unworthy of our imitation, and at a period by no means favourable to one of our most important privileges, freedom of debate. In 1654, after Cromwell had tried the expedient of governing without a Parliament, and then the expedient of selecting a House of Commons from the dregs of the people, and having failed in both instances to render that assembly subservient to his views, he remodels the whole constitution of this house, in a manner similar to the plan proposed by the noble Lord. He deprives this House of 94 of its members by ordering writs to be issued to those places only which were least likely to be influenced by the Royalist party. By this means 400 members, instead of 494, were returned to the House of Commons, of which 270 represented counties. And in the following Parliament, in 1656, he still further curtailed the numbers of this House by refusing admittance to a hundred of its members. Sir, these were acts of

arbitrary power, and not measures of calm and dispassionate legislation; and these are the precedents on which his Majesty's Ministers ground their scheme of Reform.

Mr. Dundas contended that it had been a principle of the constitution rather to increase than diminish the numbers of the House; and in no instance had boroughs been deprived of their privileges without proof of their delinquency. At the Union with Ireland, a liberal compensation was allowed; and this rule had not been departed from, when the Irish forty-shilling freeholders were disfranchised, as they received emancipation from their disabilities.

Mr. PENDARVES, member for Cornwall, said that in supporting the Bill, he spoke the sentiments of his constituents no less than his own. At the commencement of the session, he had presented one petition from the country, praying for Reform; a requisition for a county meeting had been signed by twelve hundred individuals, and he would soon have to present the petition of that meeting also. Many petitions from various towns in the county had been confided to his care since the Bill was introduced; and they all breathed the same wish that it might pass into a law.

Lord VALLETORT, member for Lostwithiel, one of the condemned boroughs, complained that it had been imputed to the opponents of the measure, that they were actuated by self-interested motives. The imputation might as fairly be cast on some friends of the measure, who were equally interested in the success of it, for continuance of their seats in the House. His Lordship said, the constitution of Great Britain was now on its trail; he only asked for it the favour that was granted to the greatest criminal, that it might have the benefit of a doubt. (Hear!)

Mr. C. GRANT supported the measure, in an able and philosophical speech.

If the conduct of Ministers required any justification, it was to be found in the recommendations of their opponents within doors, and in the demeanour of the people without. The principle of Anti-Reform was now abandoned; and he collected from the present and from the preceding discussion, that there was scarcely a single member disposed to take his stand on that principle. He had supposed, from the tenor of Sir Richard Vyvyan's speech, that he meant to place himself in the front of the table against all concession; but in the close he was astonished to hear that even he had a plan of Reform which he intended hereafter to propose. Sir Robert Peel, too, had said during the former debate, that a more moderate plan of Reform might have obtained even his vote; so that Mr. Grant thought himself warranted in asserting, that question of Reform or no Reform was absolutely decided. (Cheers.)

The question was no longer one of principle, but of degree and of time. Nothing could be more foolish than to connect the present cry for Reform with temporary and fleeting causes. It was the effect of a change which had been long in progress, and to which none had more contributed than Sir Robert Peel himself. The constitution of the country was no longer a subject of blind idolatry, men were no longer afraid to look upon it.

Sir Robert Peel, the originator of many important reforms, had taught the country the wise and salutary lesson, that an ardent affection for the constitution was not inconsistent with a desire to amend its abuses. On the contrary, it was now thought that true regard was best shown by a desire to investigate abuses, and to discover remedies. On these grounds, matters which formerly men had not dared to look at, had of late been touched, though not without due reverence. The veil of British justice had been drawn aside; and even the ecclesiastical establishment of the country, which all revered, and all were anxious to preserve, had been treated upon the same enlightened principles. These steps had prepared the public mind for the discussion of the state representation.

When gentlemen spoke of momentary impulse and temporary excitement, which only a little firmness was necessary to suppress, they grossly misstated the nature of the agitation.

Education during the last thirty years had been powerfully at work, with all its complicated machinery, and it was now operating with concentric force and accumulated rapidity. The agitation was not momentary; it arose out of a deep, hearty, and settled conviction—a knowledge on the part of the people of their rights, and a resolution to maintain them. The people of England had long had their eyes fixed upon the state of the representation; they saw that it was corrupt, and they claimed that the corrupt should be removed. They found that the other branches of the Legislature interfered with the return of those who ought to be the representatives of the people, and the fact was proved by an appeal to the votes of the House. They knew that this was inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution that it should exist, and they, accordingly appeared as petitioners at the bar.

Sir Richard Vyvyan had alluded to the state of Europe, from which he would have the House conclude that the time for concession was not now; Mr. Grant was inclined to make a very opposite inference.

If it were true that a spirit of encroachment upon the privileges of sovereigns, were true that some portion of the late commotions was to be ascribed to the disappointment of just hopes and the delay of demanded concession—what was the inference to be drawn from such a state of things? Was this a time to disregard the well-grounded complaints of the people? Who could say how much disappointment might exasperate, or how much speedy concession would allay? Experience proved the danger of deferring concession until the hour of council was past, and the hour of compulsion arrived. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILLIAM BANKES, member for Corfe Castle, a condemned borough, went into a long detail for the purpose of showing that the Bill as it stood would be most unequal in its working. To the argument of Mr. Stanley in favour of the Bill, that many noble persons who had large stakes in the nation approved of it, Mr. Bankes replied by asking,

Had not Lords Essex, Northumberland, and Warwick, and he who bore the Sword of State before his Sovereign, a stake in the country? And did they then in the beginning that the measures which they advocated, would cause the blood of the Head of the State and of the Church to stain the scaffold? (Hear, hear, hear!)

Mr. STANLEY said, the people of England, from one end of the country to the other, were

calling for that measure of Reform which had been proposed; and with a friendly feeling he would warn the House not to deceive the just expectations of that class which most of all deserved the attention of the Legislature, on account of their conduct, industry, aggregate wealth, and influence.

Lord NORREYS said, he at one time intended to support the Bill; but he now believed it to be mischievous, and could not therefore do so. He was strengthened in his determination by the declaration of Sir Richard Vyvyan, that he would bring forward a plan of Reform. He trusted that the day was not far distant when the eyes of the country would be open to the gross deceit and delusion which was now practising upon them.

Mr. VILLIERS STUART, member for Banbury, a condemned borough, said he only held his seat until his successor was elected.

He conceived that he was bound in honour to act upon the wishes of his constituents [Q. constituent?]; and he entreated the House to believe that that consideration, and that alone, induced him to adopt the resolution of voting against the second reading of the Bill. (Hear, hear!) His constituents belonged to those who had sent him to the House; but his opinions were his own, and those opinions, he had no hesitation in saying, were favourable to the measure; and in voting against the Bill, he hoped and trusted he should vote in a minority. (Cheers.)

Sir WILLIAM HORNE, the Solicitor-General said the whole of the argument against the Bill seemed to proceed upon the assumption that there was something in the British Constitution inconsistent with change, and that to make an alteration would be nothing less than to effect a complete destruction.

Now, if honourable Gentlemen would only take the trouble to cast a retrospective glance upon the Parliamentary history of this country and upon the history of its institutions they would find that there had been an almost uninterrupted series of conflicts between the principle of democracy and despotism, with alternations of success; and the inevitable consequence of that, a system of perpetual change. The present Bill was, therefore, in every point of view, in perfect harmony with the whole current of our Legislature; and instead of deserving to be designated as revolutionary deserved rather to be called a great and healing measure—not a departure from, but a recurrence to the great principles of the Constitution. It followed most faithfully in the steps of their Parliamentary predecessors, neither destroying nor innovating, but falling back upon the fundamental principles upon which our ancestors acted.

Sir William went on to elucidate this point by reference to the Triennial Act, passed in 1694, only six years after the Revolution, and to the Septennial Act, a much stronger measure, passed in 1715; both proving that the settlement of 1688, even then, was not considered as precluding future changes when called for.

Attempts had often been made to disfranchise boroughs which were deemed corrupt, and such attempts had never been held to be beyond the legitimate powers of Parliament. The Solicitor-General thought a general and sweeping measure of reform infinitely preferable to such occasional disfranchisement; for nothing could be more dangerous to the liberties of the state and the interests of justice, than to mix, oftener than absolute necessity demanded, the legislative with the judicial functions.

In 1781, the borough of Cricklade was brought under the consideration of Parliament; certain electors of it were charged criminally; some were convicted; some were tried and not convicted; and a third class were neither tried nor convicted. Those who were convicted of course suffered the full penalty of their offence, part of which was that they lost the right of voting. In the first place it would, according to all principles of justice to which he had been accustomed, be assumed that those who were tried and acquitted, were in every point of view innocent; and with stronger reason, that the parties who were not even accused, must be deemed innocent; yet by the decision of that House, penalty descended upon them; for the House proceeded upon a principle of general expediency, not so much for the purposes of punishment for the past, as in order to prevent abuses as to the future.

With respect to the boroughs to be disfranchised, Sir William contended that if there was not legal evidence, there was moral evidence of their inconsistency with the purity of the constitution.

In looking at these boroughs, they were naturally called to the conclusion that the people had not an adequate share in them. He admitted that there must be a just cause for any change that was made in that House. If there was not a just cause, any change must be unjust, but he contended that it was as much within the competency of Parliament to disfranchise all these boroughs, as it was to disfranchise them one after another in succession, if sufficient evidence could be obtained to convict them according to the strictness of law. Was it meant to be argued that boroughs were not to represent the constituency, but the nominees? If not then the whole case was proved against them.

Sir EDWARD SUGDEN rose amidst most clamorous calls for adjournment. He would venture to say, that the speech of the Solicitor-General was the most unconstitutional that had ever been delivered in that House.

His learned friend had mentioned the changes which had been made in the early days of the Constitution up to the time of the Revolution; but he had forgotten that in those times there was not to be found the perfection which existed now. (Oh, oh! Hear, hear!) He would venture to assert, that the great object of the Government, in bringing forward this measure was to preserve their offices. (Cries of "Hear, hear," and "Oh, oh!") Ministers had gained their places on the strength of the popular ferment, and instead of joining the late Administration in supporting the institutions of the country (Laughter), they took advantage of the popular feeling to turn them out (Laughter); and now sought by cultivating the voice of the people, to maintain that power which they had thus won. (Hear, hear, hear.)

True, there were a number of Petitions, but what did they all pray for?

What they all asked for, was Ballot and Universal Suffrage. (No, no!) They all asked for the destruction of the tithes. (Cries of "No, no," and "Name, name!") He could not name (Laughter); but they asked not only for Retrenchment, but for the lopping off tithes and rent. (Cries of "Hear, hear!") The honourable member for Preston said "Hear, hear!" and he therefore, entirely agreed with his statement. (No, no!) from Mr. Hunt.)

He did not deny that they were knocking at the

door, but he thought, if spoken to reasonably and with sincerity, they would wait. He knew the people—he belonged to the middle classes—he sprang from them, and among them he was destined to remain. He, therefore, had no interests separate from theirs, and he was sure that he felt for the lower classes as much as any man, and he would advocate their rights with as much independent zeal as any man. But he would not sacrifice the people of England to their prejudices and their own real interests. By such conduct he should show that he was their real friend. (Cheers.)

After adverting to the cutting up of the counties into sections, which Sir Edward said would cut down entirely the dignity of the county members, and that the towns near the polling places would influence the election, he reverted to the excuse of haste.

The excuse of haste and impatience on the part of the Bill might do very well if this Bill could be executed when passed—if it ever should be passed. But what did the Bill provide? Why, after the Bill had destroyed the present constituency leaving no man in England acquainted with the principle on which he was to give his vote, it provided that a riding Commission of the Privy Council should go round the land to settle the rights and the votes of all the constituency of England. He should like to see such a Commission starting forth from Whitehall.

Sir Edward expressed his surprise that no one had entered into the details of the bill; as a lawyer, he avowed he could not understand it. The bill committed a moral injustice in cutting off 62 members from the representation of the kingdom—it was a bill of pains and penalties, having for its guide no better principle than the love of change. Sir Edward, while he blamed the precipitancy of Ministers, which had not permitted them to procure even accurate information whereon their scale of disfranchisement, and dismemberment, could not admit that any impatience of the people justified it.

Mr. SHEIL had said that this bill would give 55 additional county members; but Sir Edward contended that such members would be very different from the present county members.

This bill would cut up England into parishes and petty districts, and give to them the power of returning members. The counties to which two additional members would be given would be thus cut up into two, and the polling districts into which they would be divided would virtually constitute so many small boroughs. The county members at present derived their weight from being the representatives of the whole county. But this measure would destroy that, and thus destroy the weight and influence of the aristocracy. The Government, by this bill, was asking a British House of Commons to vacate its functions, and to leave to the Privy Council a riding commission to shift and change the constituency. The House of Commons, although the preamble said not one word about bribery or corruption, nor did it point out how the scheme was to work. Sir Edward defied any constituency to be able to understand the bill, and thus the whole constitution of England was to be changed by a ministry that was unable to state their own meaning upon paper. He would now point out one part of the bill which was artfully contrived to give a rich boon to the landlords. People were required to register their votes every six years before any election might take place; and to entitle them to this act of registration, each man must pay all his rates, rent, and taxes. What a boon was this for landlords, title-owners, and tax receivers! Judge of assize were to appoint barristers to ascertain the registration, and these appointments were to be approved of by the Lord Chancellor, an officer of the crown; and the only appeal against the decision of the barrister was to that House. What an immense power did this throw into the hands of an Administration!

The whole bill was full of inconsistencies.

It was provided that the same property should not have a double right of voting, and yet leaseholders were to vote though their landlords were to have their votes likewise. The powers given to the King by the bill were not compulsory, and he might execute them or not, as he pleased, and thus the bill might be only partially operative. The bill sank all the rights of all corporations, although the preamble said not one word about bribery or corruption, nor did it point out how the scheme was to work. Sir Edward defied any constituency to be able to understand the bill, and thus the whole constitution of England was to be changed by a ministry that was unable to state their own meaning upon paper. He would now point out one part of the bill which was artfully contrived to give a rich boon to the landlords. People were required to register their votes every six years before any election might take place; and to entitle them to this act of registration, each man must pay all his rates, rent, and taxes. What a boon was this for landlords, title-owners, and tax receivers! Judge of assize were to appoint barristers to ascertain the registration, and these appointments were to be approved of by the Lord Chancellor, an officer of the crown; and the only appeal against the decision of the barrister was to that House. What an immense power did this throw into the hands of an Administration!

This speech closed the first day's discussion on the second reading. Nominally, the adjourned debate on Tuesday was to commence at five o'clock; and at six Lord John Russell did attempt to abridge the noisy gossip of petition-presenting; but on Mr. Calcraft's requesting "another hour" and backing his request by the very agreeable announcement, that in spite of his speech against the Bill, he had made up his mind to vote for the second reading, Lord John yielded to the member for Wareham's entreaty; and the "one hour more" became two hours.

Among the petitions, there was one in favour of the Reform Bill, from the county of Nottingham, signed by two thousand five hundred persons. Admiral Sothern, who presented it, and who had originally intended to support the measure, took occasion to announce a change that had come over his opinions after hearing the debate of the preceding evening. It seemed to be understood that the speech of Sir Edward Sugden had wrought this change of conviction.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, he could not regard the conduct of the gallant Admiral as fair and impartial. He had changed his opinion upon the plea of a single speech, although he knew that speeches would follow which might refute it. Sir Edward Sugden's speech was full of errors and delusions.

Several members objected to the delay in the introduction of the Irish Bill. Sir Charles Wetherell said, that if Mr. Stanley had not stated that the bill was drawn, he should have supposed that the draught was in the unopened scrolls of Derrinane Abbey. When he heard the elevated cheers with which Mr. O'Connell was received on a former night, it appeared to him that there was a strong tendency to an amicable approximation between him and the Ministry.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL scouted his patty insinuation. Was it fair to conclude, that a prosecution, instituted by Government, was to be abandoned, because justice was done to the speech of a man whose talent and eloquence all must admire? Sir Thomas took occasion

to allude, in a very pointed manner, to the pitiful treatment of Mr. O'Connell by the late Ministry, on the settlement of the Catholic question to this, in fact, could be traced all the subsequent agitation in Ireland.

If he were in search of a tendency to amicable approximation, he should look for it on the opposite benches. (Cheers.) It was on the timber-duties—on a question to which the late Government stood pledged—that that confidential and private arrangement took place, which on Friday night last left Ministers in a minority. (Cheers from the opposition.) That was indeed an amicable approximation, though rather an extraordinary one.

Mr. GOULBURN appealed to Mr. Poulett Thomson to set the Attorney General right in regard to the late Government being pledged to support the alteration in the timber-duties. Mr. P. Thomson said he could not confirm Mr. Goulburn's assertion, for he considered the late Government as really, though not perhaps formally pledged. Mr. Herries denied that he had ever contemplated any measure which would deprive the British ship-owners of the preference to which they were entitled. He would ask Mr. Poulett Thomson "to point out any official document" which pledged the Government.

Mr. O'Connell rose amidst cries of "Question!" He claimed to be heard against the personal insinuation of Sir Charles Wetherell; and he amused the House with some critical hints on the peculiarities of that gentleman's elocution.

He had been accused of looking at the Repeal of the Union through the medium of Reform; but he looked at the Repeal of the Union only as a means of obtaining good government; and being satisfied that good government could be obtained through the means of Reform, he supported the measure proposed by Ministers, without inquiring who were its originators, or consulting his feelings as regarded any quarrel between them and him. If, instead of defending the Reform Bill on those great principle which it inculcated and supported, he had taken up the question connection with it on paltry, pettifoggery grounds, and dealt with them according to the chicanery of the courts—if he had declared himself a foe to all improvement—if he had stood forth the enemy of all amelioration of the condition of his fellow creatures—if he had said to all changes which bore the semblance of bringing about a better condition of things to his fellow creatures, and said to them, "Thus far shall thou go, and no farther,"—then, indeed, he would have been cheered by the honourable and learned member and his associates; and then too, he might have hoped to mitigate their hostility, and perhaps to secure their favour. He stood there, however, an independent member of that House—independent either of the Government or of the party opposed to them. He had entered into no compromise with the Government, or the Government with him; and he denied that he was influenced in his support of the bill by any other motives than his conviction of its fitness for the ends it proposed.

Sir CHARLES WETHERELL retorted upon Mr. O'Connell, that he had gone about with a poor-box in his hand—taking a penny from a poor man, and twopence from a ragged man.

Mr. O'Connell repelled this taunt; and added, that he had sacrificed more money for his country than all that Sir Charles had ever earned as a lawyer.

Those who knew him in his profession, knew that he had sacrificed 7,000*l.* a year on account of his country. For the last twenty-five years, he had devoted a large portion of his time, more valuable than money, in her cause; and for five years he had paid out of his own pocket all the expense of the necessary agitation of that great question which had lately been settled, at a cost to him of 2,000*l.* a year; and if the people of Ireland chose the means of a subscription to evidence the sense of his services, the fact was creditable to both parties.

Sir ROBERT PEEL volunteered some smooth words, and the House at length proceeded to the order of the day.

Viscount MAHON, member for Wootton Bassett, a condemned borough, who had already spoken on the first reading of the Bill, opened the debate. He complained that no proof had been adduced of the alleged corruption of the House? Adverting to a remark by Mr. Sheil, that the great names opposed to Reform were outweighed by the multitude of interests calling for Reform, Lord Mahon asked what were those interests. Had not every party amongst them a different opinion, and did not every one of them call for a Reform entirely different from the present? He appealed to the matured experience of Pitt, and apostrophized Canning.

The Highlanders had a famous general, Lord Dundee, killed at a battle near Dunkeld; and, as Sir Walter Scott told us so great was their admiration of his military merit, that they were prone to exclaim in any doubtful engagement, "Oh, for one hour of Dundee!" So Lord Mahon, when he saw our ancient constitution thus beset, was tempted to exclaim, "Oh, for one hour—one hour of Canning!" How would his keen eye have detected, his eloquent tongue have exposed, the falsehoods and fallacies sought to be palmed upon us in this discussion! How would his former friends and associates have once more felt and acknowledged the mastery of his genius, and shrunk back to their allegiance!

The effect of the measure, if it did not diminish the quantity of talent in the House, would greatly diminish the amount of honesty. He would take the liberty of supposing Sir James Graham was a candidate at an election, suppose for Brighton, under the new Bill.

The people of Brighton, in common with the inhabitants of other great towns, said that they expected the extraordinary pressure of taxation which had been laid upon them to be removed by a Reformed Parliament, because an unreformed Parliament had expended millions of the Public money, in order to divide them among their friends and relations. The right honourable baronet would be asked at the hustings, whether he would cut down the Navy Estimates by one half—whether he would diminish the Civil List, remove the Assessed Taxes, and abolish Tithes? (Hear!) The right honourable baronet would undoubtedly say that he could not lend himself to any of these objects, because they were repugnant to the best interests of the country. He would be opposed by some pettifoggery individual, who would say to the electors, "Do not elect him; he will not do what you want; he is not the man of the people; do not elect him, but elect me. We will have no Civil List no malt-duty, no tithes, no nothing. Send me your orders by the morning coach, and I will see them executed in the evening in the House of Commons. I will do anything you please, only send me to Parliament." He maintained that that individual would be

elected, and that the right honourable baronet would go to the wall. (Hear, hear!)

Great advantage arose from small towns; members who had few constituents made up in zeal for the lack of that influence which a numerous constituency bestowed. The members for close boroughs were an useful equipage to the county members, who were necessarily beset by particular interests. The rotten boroughs had been cried down as anomalous, but our system was full of anomalies as great.

Could any thing be more absurd, than a King, however young he might be, was declared by the law never to be an infant? Could any thing be more absurd than that, while James the Second was attempting to subvert the constitution, he was declared by the law to be incapable of doing wrong? Could any thing be more absurd than the whole system of our hereditary legislation? Was it not an anomaly that he, because he was the son of a peer, would be called to decide questions of great national importance, while another person, who had studied legislation all his life, was, by the mere chance of birth, excluded from an opportunity of making law? Was there not something unjust in the law of primogeniture, by which it might so happen that a worthless brute might come to the possession of a great estate, to the exclusion of all the rest of the family? These were, however, leading principles of the constitution.

He concluded by declaring that he would support a Reform that did not go the length of revolution. Sir JOHN SHELLEY said, on this Bill hand his constituents altogether differed in opinion; at a meeting held very recently in Lewes, his was the only hand held up against the measure. Still, he must oppose it because he considered it to be unjust, fallacious, and revolutionary.

Mr. W. CAVENDISH regretted to differ from a portion of his constituency (the University of Cambridge), but he did not hesitate to give his unqualified support to the Bill. He felt very strongly the necessity of Reform to secure the safety of the country.

He was convinced that as long as the House was constituted as it now was—as long as it was in the power of coalitions of interests to mar the business of that House—so long the public dissatisfaction would go on increasing. If measures were not taken to satisfy the public demands, the discontent of the people, though it might be smothered for the present, would on a favourable opportunity burst out with redoubled fury. Surely, then, it was much better to meet the people's wishes by a manly proposition, satisfactory to all reasonable minds.

Mr. Cavendish could not allow himself to be swayed by melancholy forebodings of danger to the aristocracy; he did not believe that a body possessing such vast legitimate means of securing the affections of the people must stand or fall by the nomination of rotten boroughs. On the contrary, he believed the aristocracy was not the class which would be the least benefited by the bill. Reform would remove from them the odium which not unnaturally attached to proprietors of rotten boroughs, and induce them to rely on the affections of the people.

Mr. ORMSBY GORE quoted Sir William Blackstone's opinion, to show that copyholders and leaseholders to vote members of Parliament, would undermine the system of legislation—would, in fact, be revolutionary. The House had been told that the right of returning members to Parliament was to be regulated by the amount of the population.

If so, how was it that a most important district of the country, containing 340,000 inhabitants, was to send to Parliament only exactly the same number of representatives as a county containing only 104,000 inhabitants? The county of Wiltshire was to send twenty-five members to Parliament, while the whole principality of Wales was to send the same number. The county of Glamorgan, containing 59,455 inhabitants, was to send one member; while the county of Northumberland, containing 61,662 inhabitants, was to send four members. Was that impartiality? Was that apportioning the representatives to the population? If there must be a new system—if the House of Commons must be remodelled—for Heaven's sake let strict impartiality be observed. Look at the history of this island, and it will be found that one of the most loyal portions of it had been the principality of Wales. Had Wales ever put the country to any expense? Had troops ever been required in Wales to put down disturbances? Had Wales ever called for any extraordinary measures in order to carry the laws into effect? Yet this was, if not the first, nearly the first time Wales had been spoken of in that House as it deserved. In the whole of England and Wales, there was but one district marked out by a peculiar clause for disfranchisement. It was not a borough by itself, but tributary borough to Caernarvon. Cricieth was selected as the only spot in England and Wales to be thus particularly visited with punishment. Was it because it could boast of a charter perhaps more ancient than any other in the country—charter granted by Edward the First, and confirmed by three successive Sovereigns? Was it because it had manifested the purest loyalty at the time of the unfortunate Charles?

Mr. Gore wished it not to be supposed that he was an enemy to all Reform. He was a strenuous advocate for suitable Reform. He prayed to God that the prophetic saying of Lord Burleigh might not be fulfilled in these days, "England can never be ruined but by her Parliament."

Captain POLHILL was understood, but not heard, to declare his cordial approbation of the Bill.

Mr. WARD said, a large portion of his constituents had declared in favour of the Bill; but there were six hundred, well capable of appreciating its value, who had declared against it, and he could not abandon them. Mr. Ward professed himself an admirer of small and close boroughs, from the fact not only that many great men had sat for such, but that the three members who, during his political experience, had been visited with the displeasure of the House, had been representatives of large constituencies,—he meant Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, and Mr. Fuller. They were also necessary for the protection of the monied interests, not otherwise represented in the House. Mr. Ward feared that the existing excitement was only a consequence of the transaction abroad.

Matters had gone on well here till the recent

events upon the Continent. All that the people asked had, in a great degree, been already granted. The people called for a reduction of taxation. No less than 30,000,000, of tax had been reduced since the peace. The people were often told of the 50,000,000, which remained, but never of the 30,000,000, which had been repealed. (Cheers.) The people demanded the reduction of patronage, and it was very right they should do so. They were sometimes reminded of miserable reductions of 150l. or 100l. but they were never told that within the last nine years above 4,000 places had been abandoned, to 58 of which were attached salaries of from 1,000l. to 3,000l. per annum. (Cheers.) He therefore was justified in asserting that Parliament had not disregarded the voice of the people. Parliament had called for returns, without which the people would never have had an accurate knowledge of their affairs. To use a commercial phrase, the country had now the balance sheet of the expenditure before them.

Mr. Ward concluded by stating, that in opposing the Bill, he was wholly uninfluenced by any feelings of self-interest; he had no connexion with borough property.

Mr. WYSE ridiculed the notion that the constitution of England was a fixture; the whole history of the country was one of change. And though, both in old times and in the present, they had heard a great deal about the danger of altering the laws of England, the cry which many raised was one that nobody had ever been foolish enough to act upon. The assumption that the feeling in favour of Reform had been excited by Ministers, was as unfounded as that it was the result of the discussions by the public press. Ministers were only actuated by causes which they and the people felt in common, and the press was but the organ through which the universal sentiment was made known.

Sir ROBERT BATESON must vote against the Bill. If the change in the franchise would be injurious in England, it would be still more injurious in Ireland, where the poverty of the people gave so much greater facilities to demagogues in prosecuting their trade of agitation. Sir Robert confessed, however, that Londonderry, and generally all the towns, were in favour of the Bill; and that Reform in some shape must be brought forward by any Ministry which should now assume the reins of government.

Earl MOUNTCHARLES said, he had pledged himself to his constituents to act in conformity with public opinion; and he thought it but his duty to avow his belief, that the current of public opinion ran at present so strongly in favour of Reform, that it was impossible for the House to avoid conceding it.

Lord CASTLEREAGH said, his constituents demanded Reform, as well as those of Earl Mountcharles, yet he would vote against the Bill, because he was assured that it would not satisfy his constituents. He was friendly to Reform, come from what quarter it might, but he could not support such a measure, which now recommended to the House, might it would arm the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland with a most dangerous and overwhelming power, a power with which, though he voted for Emancipation, it was neither his desire nor his intention, if he could resist it, to invest them.

Mr. SHAW was also opposed to the measure, because he thought it would prove destructive to the Protestant interests in Ireland. The destruction of the Protestant interests would throw the whole power of the country into the hands of the Catholic priests, and thus pave the way for a repeal of the Union. He was moreover opposed to the bill, because it would disfranchise the 7,000 voters to whom he owed his seat, by adding 20,000 to their number. (Laughter, and cheers.)

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL rose chiefly to remove any impression which the speech of Sir Edward Sugden had made. Sir Thomas Denman wished the House to look at the Bill, to learn what were the intentions of Ministers. It had been insinuated that in order to conciliate, he knew not whom, the Cabinet had made a great alteration in the original measure.

He could state, that for five weeks the instructions for the Bill had been in his hands; and he declared upon his honour, that, with the exception of some of the most minute details, trifling to be of the smallest consequence, no alterations whatever had been made, but the Bill was exactly conformable to the instructions he received at the time he mentioned, and which were put into his hands in order that they might receive the form of an act of Parliament. (Hear, hear.)

Equally absurd was the allegation that the Bill had been brought in to keep Ministers in their places.

Could any gentlemen persuade themselves that this was the fact? Was this a question which had been raised last year? Were not the effects of the corrupt influence which this Bill proposed to remedy developed during the American war? Was it not notorious in the language of the great Lord Chatham? Did he not prove the fatal effects of that influence upon that House? Was it not the foundation of the fame of his celebrated son?

If the measure were not a sordid or selfish one, but honestly conceived and honestly introduced, why then should not the House lay aside every suspicion in viewing it? It was argued by some, that we should prosecute Reform gradually—that we should do a little in 1831, and a little more in 1832. But would not such a mode of Reform rather inflame than satisfy the public mind?

It had been suggested on Monday night, for the first time—for it had not been once hinted at during the former debate of seven nights—that some measure of Reform was necessary; but the measure which Government had produced was not to the taste of these gentlemen; they said, "It is something else we mean; let us drown this measure in the sea, and we will find some more moderate one by which the public interests shall be taken care of." But when honourable members talked

of moderate Reform, what was it they meant? That nomination-boroughs should be kept alive; that peers and commoners should still have nomination-boroughs?

The ex-Solicitor General had called the plan a selfish one: Sir Thomas Denman called it a plan for the public good; and he asked whether there was not on the face of it testimony to that effect? What were its provisions?

If there was one thing more important than another in a measure of this kind, it was making the expense of elections as small as possible, that there might be no temptation to bribery; and that persons of education and talent might not be prevented from offering themselves as candidates by the fear of the expense. Did not the bill profess to do this, and did it not accomplish it effectually? In the first place, out-voters were not to be conveyed to the poll, and resident voters alone were entitled to vote. Another feature of the plan to prevent expense was shortening the duration of the poll. Was not that a bona fide attempt to avoid the expense of elections? Instead of fifteen days, which afforded time for voters to rise in price to an extent sometimes hardly capable of calculation, the time was reduced to two days in towns and counties. Then the right of voting was more defined and simplified. There might be some advantage in a variety of votes, but there were disadvantages arising from contested rights. Then he asked, whether registration had not a direct tendency to prevent this inconvenience, and to simplify the right to vote? These were bona fide proofs that the bill was calculated to effect a public good; and when Sir Edward Sugden said that the word "bribery" was not mentioned in the bill, the remark was extremely unfair. All the acts as to bribery were still in operation; not one was to be repealed by this bill, which laid the axe at the root of corruption, by weakening the motive and destroying the opportunity. No bill could undergo more serious examination than this; and considering that no person in that House was more capable of cutting it to pieces than Sir Edward, whose speech had made so great an impression upon the House, he was surprised, when he looked at it, to consider how little effect it had upon it.

When Sir Edward Sugden objected to the bill, that it was introduced in order to keep Ministers in power, might he not assert, with at least equal fairness, that Sir Edward's speech was made to render defenceless its office?

It had been objected, that a similar division to that which had been proposed in the bill for Yorkshire had been proposed by Cromwell:—What then? was the House to be for ever governed by nicknames? A great point had been made on the proposed Privy Council Commissions.

The principle itself was not a new one nor was an act of Parliament required to enable his Majesty to put such a principle in operation. It was the ancient and well-understood right of the crown, to cease sending writs to certain places or boroughs. What, he would ask, would become of that vested right, about which they had heard so much, if his Majesty should cease to send writs to certain places, for instance? That would then become of those vested rights for which thousands of pounds had been given perhaps? The king could take away the right which he gave. (Cries of "No!" from the Opposition.) He did not say that the king could take away charters from corporations, but he could take away from boroughs the right of sending Members to Parliament.

It had been objected that rent was an improper qualification for an elector of a town: he thought, on the contrary, that the principle was an excellent one, and that the only question was, as to the best mode of ascertaining the rent.

The value being fixed at a certain amount, the poor rates, where they could be depended on, might be a satisfactory mode of ascertaining it. As to the household duty, it was probable that very soon it and several others of the assessed taxes would be repealed, so that it could not be taken as a test. They must then go to the rate, which was generally speaking, a very good criterion. When the house was in the hands of the owner himself, it might not be so easy to get at the value of it, but that would not be the case when it was leased out to a tenant. Yet even that offered no remarkable difficulty—none, at least, which might not be surmounted by appointing, as was proposed, persons to ascertain the rent, at a period when there was no heat of election strife nor any corrupt motive in operation to bias them.

Among the many objectors to the bill, was the gentleman who had that evening quoted Mr. Justice Blackstone against it. The objection was of value, for it had given the House a legal definition of what members meant when they called the bill revolutionary.

A revolutionary measure was one which went to extend the right of voting to leaseholders and copyholders! (Cheers from the Ministerial benches.) That instance showed the value of sounding words. Let gentlemen for a moment look into the debates which occurred when King William came over to save it from arbitrary power, and they would find that the speakers then gloried in the word "revolution," that they avoided the word rebellion, and that they used the word "revolution" in the sense of a restoration, the movement then made being considered as a reviving to the original principles of the constitution. He would entreat gentlemen, therefore, not to be scared or frightened by big words and nicknames.

It had been a legend that the bill was a measure of disfranchisement rather than of extension; and among the places it would disfranchise, Preston was specified.

If Preston would be so affected by this Bill as now worded, he should be sorry for it; but he had no doubt that the case of Preston would be discussed in the proper place for the discussion of such matters, and that a full and fair consideration would be given to it. The principle of this bill has not one of a disfranchisement. (Cheers from the Ministerial, and dissent from the Opposition benches.) He would repeat, that the principle of this bill was not a principle of disfranchisement. (Dissent from the Opposition.) The object of the bill was to retain as much as possible all existing right of voting. (Interruption from the Opposition.)—as far as was consistent with the real and effectual reform of the representation of the people in that House. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches.)

Some members had endeavoured to frighten the House by a reference to the commencement of the civil war in the time of Charles the First.

But where was the use of referring them to the arbitrary times of Charles the First, with usurping ministers, his tyrannical courts, his Star Chamber,

his Courts of Wards, by which his subjects had been plundered—to a time when the people were running counter to all such measure when they suspected the King, hated the Ministry, and detested the whole policy of the Government? Was that a period to be taken as a parallel for the present time? (Much cheering.)

He thought there could never be a more propitious time than the present for the adoption of such a measure. We were at peace and prospering, with a thriving trade, and every thing going on well. (Laughter on the Opposition side.)—with one exception—the unanimous dissatisfaction of the people with the corrupt state of the House of Commons. (Cheers from the Ministerial side.)

He was astonished to see moral and religious men strenuously contending against Parliamentary Reform, with such cases as Retford, and Grimsby, and Evesham, where the most notorious corruption had been practised before their eyes, endeavouring to prevent every species of reform. (Cries of "No no!" from the Opposition.) He would maintain it. What was the burden of the every night debate on the part of the opponents of this measure? Even the utmost concession made by Sir Robert Peel, was that it was possible that he might be induced, not as a Minister but as an individual, at some future period, to give his reluctant assent to some measure of Reform. And judging by experience, would not the only measure of Reform which they might expect from him be similar to that which he advocated when he preferred to transfer the franchise from East Retford to Basildon instead of to Birmingham? What Reform was that?

The complainers against the measure had said that the public ought to be consulted.

Well, the public had been consulted, and its voice had been heard. Others cried out that it was a robbery of corporations; but the corporations had come forward and begged to be so robbed. Others had said that the bill contained clauses contrary to the rights of the City of London; but the City met the next day and voted not only that the measure was good, but that it was ready to sacrifice all its privileges that were supposed to be injured by the bill. There was scarcely an exception of any body of the people disliking the present measure, and thus far was it essentially different from the Catholic Relief Bill.

Sir James Scarlett said, he would vote against the second reading. He had ever been a friend to Reform, as his votes testified; but he did not approve of the present measure, which was not a reform, but a reconstruction of the House upon principles entirely new and unknown to the Constitution. The first ground on which the Ministers based their measure was that of popular right. Now if the people possessed any constitutional right to demand Reform, where was such a law to be found? The constitution of England was not found in any specific law or code, but in a collection of practices and usages.

Of what did the House of Commons consist? on what did it depend? It was formed originally of a variety of writs sent by the King to certain places, requiring them to return members. This was confirmed by certain acts of Parliament; it was confirmed by certain charters granted to different places, and upon which these places founded their right to have writs direct to them. The House of Commons in its constitution depended therefore upon usages, acts of Parliament, and charters.

Upon which of these could be founded any general right of the people to Reform? Lord John Russell had referred to the statute of Edward the First, as quite sufficient for his purpose, it having been passed with the consent of the King, his council, the archbishops, bishops, barons, and all the commons of the realm; but if Lord John would look to an earlier period, he would find that the words "common of the realm" had no such interpretation as he ascribed to them.

In the time of Henry III., in the wars between him and his Barons, the Parliament of Oxford passed this act, which was called the "Oxford Provisions." In this Parliament twelve persons were elected to represent all the commons of England. Their names were still extant. This twelve *nomos* (he words was Norman, and meant brave men) were to come to Parliament three times a year, and at other time were to attend to the business of the King and the realm. These twelve persons were elected by the Barons, to create a Parliament which was held three times a year; the Barons elected these as the representatives of all the commons of the realm. Edward took an oath to maintain the Oxford Provisions. In the following years, Edward III. obtained an absolution from the Pope from the obligations of this oath, and he afterwards renewed his oath to the Barons. Several times in the reign of Edward III. was the oath renewed. Such were the people that the noble Lord called the Commonalty of the land. But it was not on these things that Reform was to depend: Reform should be made to rest upon what was expedient for the public good, and all attempts to reform the House upon such principles of a constitution ought to be treated with contempt. Practice alone, and expediency alone, ought to influence such measures.

He approved of that part of the bill which gave the franchise to large towns, but decidedly objected to that which took the franchise from small ones.

It was the cultivation of commerce, and in that increase of it which followed upon the discovery of America and the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, that they were to look almost exclusively for the sources of the power and greatness of this country. He contended, then, that it was a question at least well worthy of consideration, whether it was expedient to cut off sixty-two members from that House—sixty-two members who represented that important interest. In his opinion, that proceeding would destroy the equilibrium, and give a decided preponderance to the landed interest. The bill gave fifty-five additional county members, and it took away sixty-two from the monied and commercial interest. For the future they would have, instead of ninety-two, no less than one hundred and forty-seven members to represent the landed interest, while they cut off sixty-two from the commercial interest. What security had they that a House so constituted would maintain the public credit, so far as commercial and monied creditors were concerned?

Sir James was equally opposed to the principle, or rather the no principle, by which this sweeping change was sought to be brought about.

A borough which had 2,000 inhabitants in 1821 would not be disfranchised, although at the present moment it might not contain so many as 2,000, or near so

many; while on the other hand, a borough which possessed only 1,999 inhabitants in 1821 would be disfranchised, although at the present moment it might contain twice as many. Now this he contended, was unjust and capricious. It was said, however, that it would satisfy the people. Would it so? He did not know in what particular manner the measure generally would work, for that was a matter of mere experiment; but of this he was quite certain—namely that it would not agree with any principle or theory which he had ever heard with regard to Reform, and he believed that it would lead to great evils. He believed that when it came into practice, the people would feel the effects of the arbitrary, and capricious, and unjust grounds upon which it proceeded, and that they would say, "You have pulled down the old fabric because it had some apartments which were not convenient, and because some of the parts of its structure were out of symmetry; use, however, had taught us to endure these, and the antiquity of the fabric had led us to contemplate it with respect; but now you have given us a new building to which we are not accustomed—which has no antiquity to command our respect—which is far more inconvenient than the one you have removed, and which is rendered studiously unsightly by deformities which you have made by line and rule." (Cheers from the Opposition.)

Sir J. mes went on to discuss at great length the difference between according to deliberate wishes of the people, and the according to wishes which the people had neither time or judgment deliberately to decide upon; and finished amidst much confusion and frequent cries of "Question!" by declaring his intention to vote against the second reading.

Amidst loud calls for the "Reply," Sir Thomas Dyke Acland rose, with great earnestness of manner, to address the House for a few minutes. He emphatically denounced the "non-existing phantasm" of Reform of Sir Richard Vyvyan, from which he believed no result would come. He felt Reform to be inevitable, but he thought that the present measure made too bold a stride. He would approve of the reduction of one hundred Members from the least important boroughs, but he would disfranchise none; and he cared not in what proportion they were distributed among the large towns of England, or between Ireland and Scotland. Notwithstanding the objections he had taken, being a Reformer on principle, he felt it indispensable necessary to vote for the second reading of the Bill, with a view to its modification in Committee; hoping that those who had done so much that was wise and good would consent to arrange the details so as to remove reasonable objections.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL replied, he could not agree with Sir James Scarlett, that any man who called himself a Reformer could adopt the resolution Sir James had expressed of voting against the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. Burke had spoken of certain persons as prospective patriots, who, when the question came to the present day, were always found wanting. Sir James's prospective patriotism was undoubted: so long as we dwelt in generalities, and he had only to make speeches in that House and to his constituents; expressive of his wishes in his favour, he was for Reform; but now that we came to a distinct and tangible measure, his honourable friend used arguments which were not in favour of a more moderate Reform than the present, but which militated against any Reform whatsoever. (Loud cheers.)

Sir Edward Sugden had complained of the obscurity of some parts of the bill.

Was it not as plain and intelligible as the imaginary resolution which, in the event of this proposition being defeated, the honourable member for Cornwall was to propose at some future day, no one knew when to do so, no one knew what, and which was of no avail satisfaction to no one knew whom—except, indeed, it were intended to satisfy those who opposed Reform yet wished to persuade others and themselves into the belief that they were not opposed to it. (Loud cheers.)

In reply to Sir James Scarlett, Lord John said that if the learned gentleman's interpretation were correct—if "Commonalty" meant "Barons," the Peers were the true representatives of the people, and possessed the right of voting taxes. But it required no great ingenuity to establish that the people possessed a fair claim to be truly represented in the House of Commons—it was supported by the very form of words used in acts of Parliament, and by the well known language of the constitution.

What did our ancestors in 1688? First, they declared that elections ought to be free and uninfluenced, and, in the next place, two or three years afterwards they passed an act very contrary to the theory of the right of persons of wealth and property to nominate members of that House, for they specifically enacted that all such nominations were contrary to the laws and constitution of the realm, and that they were null and void. Such was the manner in which our ancestors, at the period of the Revolution, read and understood the constitution of the realm. If there were time, he could show that great part of the abuses now complained of in the representation—those abuses which limited the return of members to a small number of persons—had grown up since the accession of George the Second.

Lord John proceeded to the principle of the measure before the House.

When the Ministers determined on reforming the system, the first question which they had to ask themselves was this—Is it at first that the direct nomination of members by individuals, and the sale of seats for money, should continue to be part of the constitution of the House? He would never deny the advantages that in particular cases might have arisen from nomination and purchase of seats for money; as in the case of Mr. Ricardo, who, by the disbursement of 1,000l. a year, was enabled to communicate to the House the results of his very valuable labours and extraordinary intelligence on various subjects.

But if you were to form a plan of Reform on this ground—if you permitted nomination and sale of seats to continue—in the very first year of a reformed Parliament, if we did not do it others would rise and say such franchises were contrary to the laws and constitution, and they would have an argument which it would be impossible to resist. (Hear!) When Ministers had come to the conclusion that they ought not to permit the practices in question to continue, the question of disfranchisement followed as a natural and necessary consequence of that conclusion. Gentle-

men might talk of the hardship of disfranchising voters of East and West Loos, and such places; but the real question was this—"Was it for the public good that the owners of boroughs should continue to nominate members of that House?"

They were blamed for assuming, as the basis of their calculations, the census of 1821; but they had done so from necessity. It had been said that the people prayed not for Reform, but for ballot and against tithes. Now, what was the fact? Of 645 petitions for Reform, ballot was mentioned only in 280, tithes only in 70! The power proposed to be conferred on the Privy Council had been objected to—if any other equally efficient provision could be pointed out in the progress of the Bill, it would be cheerfully adopted. A few words to the real question before the House—

His Majesty's Ministers were anxious to frame such a plan of Reform as would bind firmly and kindly the different classes of society together, and which would secure representation on which that House and the country might safely rest. He did not mean to say that the plan proposed by them might not be altered; but if, in the Committee, it were materially altered so as to deprive it of the character which he had just described, he should feel that neither himself, nor any other friend of Reform, would think themselves precluded, at any future time, from bringing forward those parts of the measure which had been thrown aside, and which they considered to be essential. (*Hear, hear!*) If any alteration were proposed, which would not interfere with the great objects that Ministers had in view, he felt no hesitation in saying, that to such alteration no opposition would be given. But if alterations were called for, that would not satisfy the country, such a course would only lead to a prolonged struggle instead of conciliating the feelings and affections of the people. (*Hear, hear!*) They lived certainly in extraordinary times. (*Cheers from the Opposition.*) Sir R. Vyvyan, who had strenuously opposed this motion, and who thought that he could in some way or other direct the mighty mass of public opinion which was now in action—that honourable baronet had given them warnings, both from circumstances which had occurred at home and from events which had happened in foreign countries, with respect to the danger that was to be apprehended from making popular concessions. But he would ask, had the honourable baronet never looked to the danger of raising well-founded popular claims? (*Cheers.*) Had he never contemplated the danger which a Government encounters when it placed itself in a situation, and founded itself upon a principle, that was not sustainable by reason—that it was not tenable against the representations of common sense? Day after day complaints were made of the state of the representation; day after day the people declared that the nominees of boroughs did not represent them; and were they to pay no attention to the constant, the fervent, the glowing appeals of this large, liberal, and enlightened nation? Had the honourable baronet never thought of the consequences which had resulted to kings and princes, in consequence of their resistance to the just demands of the people—in consequence of the people having found that their representations were fruitless and unavailing?

Lord John concluded.—No Government could go on for five years if they proceeded in a course directly contrary to the interests, and habits, and feelings, of the great body of the people over whom they presided. (*Cheers.*) Therefore he said, what they had to do was, to make their institutions harmonize with the feelings of the people—to conjoin the two together, and to render them, in future susceptible of that mutual agreement which he admitted was most difficult to be attained in a system composed of King, Lords, and Commons, but which it was impossible to arrive at in the present constitution of the House of Commons, though that defect might be remedied by the principles contained in this Bill. It had been advanced as a reproach to Ministers, in the course of this debate, that they had gone beyond all expectation. The imputation thrown on the Ministry was an unprecedented charge against men in such situations—he, for one, was content to accept of. (*Hear, hear!*) When he sat on the other side of the House, he was somewhat chary in proposing any very extensive system of Reform, because he felt that what might seem wise and good to those who had no public power or responsibility, might present a very different aspect to others who had official means of forming a judgement; but now, when he and his friends were called on to give advice and counsel to their Sovereign, they had acted up to the full bent of their judgment. (*Hear, hear.*) They had not hesitated to avow—they had not attempted to conceal any part of their opinions. They had risked place, power, reputation—in short, every thing that Ministers could risk—in an endeavour (he hoped that it would be a triumphant endeavour) to improve largely, liberally, and generously, the constitution of Great Britain.

The cheering which followed was accompanied by evident preparations for a vote. But before it was taken, Mr. Hunt begged for one minute's attention. He had been asked by Sir Edward Sugden how he could vote for a bill which would disfranchise the greater part of his constituents. In consequence of this taunt, he had communicated with Lord John Russell, and his colleague had communicated with Earl Grey; and they found that no life interest would be effected by the bill, or if it were, no objection would be made to any amendment by which it might be projected.

The House then divided on the question "that the words proposed to be left out do stand as part of the question;" when there appeared—Ayes, 301; Noes, 300; majority for Reform, 1. The original question for the second reading was then put and carried.

It was announced by Ministers, that the bill would be committed on the 14th of April.

MISCELLANEA.

Poland.—God is Great! The angel of death is flapping his heavy wings in the face of the Russian desolator, and Poland may yet be free! The army; say the last accounts, dated the 15th, is in a state of compelled inaction,—unless, we may add, when it is broken by the attacks of the men whom they came to destroy. The country around their position is one wide waste of corpse and quagmire. The supplies are drawn from a distance, uncertain, and scanty: six

rubles have been paid for a glass of brandy, two for an egg. The Field-Marshal, it is said, formed his plans on a simple basis—tangled be their issue!—and hastened with rapidity towards the goal, which there is good hope he will never reach. NICHOLAS has appointed a Polish Government, which is to have its seat in St. Petersburg—we hope it will remain there.—*Spectator, April 2.*

Prussia seems playing a singular and a hazardous game at present. The *Times* mentions the arrest of several Englishmen for no assignable cause, and gives the names of two gentlemen whose rights had been so violated. Letters to persons in this country have been stopped passing through Berlin. All Prussians at present in Poland, are, by the following cabinet order, recalled under heavy penalties.

"Every Prussian subject residing at present in the kingdom of Poland, without being able to give a satisfactory account of the cause of his absence, and his stay in that country, is called upon to return immediately to the place of his domicile, there to appear personally before the competent authority, and to give a full, circumstantial account of his absence, his stay in the kingdom of Poland, and the period of his return. To all such subjects who faithfully obey this summons, the pardon of the Sovereign for their prohibited emigration, as also the raising of the sequestration of their property, is granted. But those who remain in the kingdom of Poland are considered as public traitors, and will be punished as such; and, as an addition—(hear, ye free men, that frightful addition!)—to the penalties contained in the general code of laws against public treason, in regard to the particular circumstances, the following punishments are enacted against such refractory persons:—1. Confiscation of all their present and future property. 2. The punishment relating to desertion against all the members of the standing army, of the war reserve, and of the militia of the first and second class. 3. Forfeiture of the right of inheritance to the property of their parents, against those who have as yet no property of their own, as also incapacity to any office in the state, and a compulsory service in the army of three years, in case they should hereafter return. 4. Arraignment for felony against those subjects who are not military persons, and, besides the confiscation of their property, imprisonment in a house of correction, or in a fortress, from six months to two years."

Six or seven years ago, an Edinburgh lawyer wrote a book of travels, in which he praised Prussia as one of the finest and best regulated states in Europe. The march of intellect must have retrograded in Prussia.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—At the Common Council held on Thursday, the freedom of the City, in a box of 100 guineas value, was voted to this most deserving nobleman. The resolution was moved by Alderman Venables, and seconded by Alderman Waltham. Mr. J. Richardson moved an amendment, but he could get nobody to second him; the meeting could not be moved even to hisses—they only laughed at his lament over the lost privileges of the London Liverymen.

REFORM ILLUMINATIONS.—Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Dundee, and other towns in Scotland, have celebrated the doubtful victory of the Reformers on the late division, by general illuminations. The rejoicings at Edinburgh were mingled, however, with pane-breaking, and other specimens of mob violence. This, we observe, some of the Edinburgh papers attribute, in part at least, to the Magistracy, who first met the proposition with discouragement, and at a late hour in the evening of the illumination expressed their sanction; in consequence of which vacillation, many persons had not joined in the illuminations, and thus encountered the displeasure of the mob—not the Reformers, but the blackguards of the city—whose mischievous propensities the authorities had taken no precautions to control.

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND REFORM.—The freeholders of Roxburgh met on the 23d to discuss the Reform Bill; which they agreed to petition against, by a majority of 47 to 23. The only feature of the meeting worthy of notice, was the speech of Sir Walter Scott against the Bill. Sir Walter said, his voice was nearly gone, and he was otherwise unwell, but he would willingly yield up his last breath in opposing the measure.

He disliked the moment in which the measure was brought forward, he disliked the feelings that spurred on its supporters. They knew of the last Revolution in France,—how it happened he would not stop to inquire; all that he would say was, that the persons who climbed to the democratic part of the constitution, had obtained the advantage which they desired, and they obtained their own Government in the way which they thought best. This had set fire to a train over the land that has burned far and wide. France for ages had been imitating our constitution, but not fairly. She had been always trying to add something to it, to render it more exquisite; but in this she constantly failed. There were no less than thirteen different constitutions, and this he believed was the fourteenth within our recollection, and in every one of them France had made a constitution that in the course of a year was found inapplicable. And was it from France that Britain was to imitate a constitution, and to depart from its own, which had given happiness and victory to the country, and had

carried its glory to a height to which France had never been able to attain? He was moreover convinced that we would have ear with the French—that they would never cease to be hostile to us as long as the remembrance of the battle of Waterloo remained impressed upon their minds; and that this country could not be considered in a state of safety as long as they could do us any harm without imminent danger to themselves. He had himself seen a little of the extreme degree of the ingenuity of the French in imitating our devices. They wished to introduce from this country an iron bridge. They sent to an engineer of this country to have such a bridge placed over the Seine, near Marly. The first thing that the French engineers did, was to examine the drawings; and they declared that the bridge intended would not do—that it was not elegant enough—that it was altogether English; and, as such, they set about altering all those counterpoises which were necessary to give it stability; but they no sooner set it up in this condition than it turned upside down. (*A laugh.*) It was quite the same thing with regard to their constitution—they tried to make it better, and we now saw the end of it. In repairing an old edifice that had withstood the flood and the winds of ages, we should be cautious not to destroy its symmetry—"we should let well be well." The case under which we and our fathers have slumbered for ages, we should not be rash in cutting down. Sir Walter had heard much of the success of the Union. How long was it in being successful? More than fifty years—men's hair had turned gray before this success made its appearance; and they now had their hopes realized. Although the worst of miseries were brought into our country by an innovation so much to be deprecated, it would, in the government of the world, be brought round. The crop came in God Almighty's time; but we should not be rash enough to sanction changes which were very likely to occasion evils of no ordinary kind, instead of continuing to live quietly and peaceably as we have done hitherto. He should take leave of them with the adieu of the gladiators to the Emperor of old, "*monstrum salutant*,"—if we pass this, we shall be undone.

In the commencement of his address Sir Walter was loudly hissed! He afterwards said he was no enemy to Reform; but the present was like the attempt of an ignorant workman to correct a chronometer, who moved the regulator back and forward until he broke the works which he aimed at mending.

SIR CHARLES WETHERELL'S LAST.—"So, the Lord Chancellor sits to-morrow I hear," said a noble lord on Thursday, to the member for Boroughbridge. "Yes," replied the latter, "and he will be the first judge that has sat on Good Friday since Pontius Pilate." *Globe.* This is an old joke; it was said by Mingay of Lord Keeney, who either sat, or wanted to sit, on Good Friday, on some urgent occasion.—*Times.* We think it must be Sir Charles's, notwithstanding. First, it is borrowed—there is one reason; secondly, it is bitter bad—there is another reason; thirdly, it is doubly false—thousands of judges have sat on Good Friday since that respectable gentleman Mr. Justice Pilate, and Lord Brougham neither sat on Good Friday nor ever intended it—there is more reason.—*Spectator.*

ANECDOTE OF MR. JEFFREY.—A baronet, whose name we conceal, had brought an action in one of the Scottish Courts, in which he showed, in his anxiety to gain his point, the most reckless regard of all honourable or moral restraints. This person had sat in Court unblushingly during a long exposure of his nefarious conduct; and Jeffrey, than whom no man has a sicer feeling of honour, had worked himself up to a pitch of towering indignation. He rose and commenced in his usual subdued manner—"My Lords—There is no person who entertains a higher respect for the English Aristocracy than I do, or who would feel more loth to say any thing that could hurt the feelings, or injure the reputation of any one individual member of that illustrious body; but after all that we have this day heard, I feel myself warranted in saying (here he turned round, faced the plaintiff, who was seated immediately behind him, and fixing upon him a cold, firm look, proceeded in a low determined voice), that Sir — has clearly shown himself to be a notorious liar and a common swindler." The whole audience was startled; but so justly had the rebuke been merited, that not a murmur of remonstrance was heard. The man who had carelessly borne the disclosure of his iniquity, quailed beneath the eye of the speaker, fidgeted in his seat for a few moments, then rose and left the court.—*New Monthly Magazine.*

WARLIKE PREPARATIONS.—We understand that it is intended to erect two new batteries at Brighton, and that the surveys have actually been made. The spot selected for one, as we lately mentioned, is the Grand Junction-road, at the entrance of the Chain Pier Esplanade. The other is to be placed at the Royal Crescent.—*Brighton Gazette.* [Are the Ministers afraid the Belgians will steal our King?]

EARLDOM OF DEVON.—Viscount Courtney has been found entitled by the House of Lords to his earldom.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.—It is with great concern we state the sudden indisposition of Sir Walter Scott. The highly-gifted Baronet has had a paralytic stroke *Morning Post.*

ORAL TELEGRAPH.—It is proposed, by

means of a small tube throughout the length of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, to convey information as quickly as in conversation. The length of the longest tunnel of the Liverpool and Manchester railway is about 6,600 feet; and it is thought that not only may articulated sounds be transmitted distinctly that distance, but through the whole length of the railway.

ROYAL MISTRESSES.—This customary and costly appendage to sovereignty seems to be falling in estimation. In England, a voluntary exile has relieved the public of the presence of one the most rapacious of our times. In Hesse Cassel, the people, in rising lately to vindicate their liberties against the encroachments of the Grand Duke, commenced the work of reformation by banishing his female favourite. No sooner had tranquillity been restored, than the lady contrived to insinuate her person into the city again, in one of Rothschild's carriages. Her arrival having been made known, the people rose and swore they would set the town on fire, if she were not immediately sent away. The Prince Royal attempted to appease the people; but he was only met by a loud demand for the dismissal of his own favourite, as well as his father's. The Prince, it seems, has a lady whom he purchased for 1,500,000 of a Prussian officer. The mistress of the Duke was accordingly marched off a second time to Frankfurt, where she still remains.

THE AUSTRIAN LOAN.—The loan is said to amount to 36 millions of florins, or about 3,000,000, sterling. The Bank of Vienna, upon the security of 36 millions obligation, Five per Cent. Metalliques, is to advance 12 millions of florins; the houses of Arnstein, Eskels, Rothschild, Geymuller, and Sina, are to have the sale of the remainder, on commission, for the account of the Government, at prices to be fixed by the Government; the produce to be paid into the Bank. With the exception of the 12 millions taken by the Bank, no money, is advanced by the parties, who are mere agents for the sale of a new stock.

THE REFORM COURTEOUS.—In the debate last night Mr. Yates Peet, it will be remembered, said with a fine air of gentility, that if the Reform Bill passed, the Member for Preston would, in a few months after, come down and tell them, "You must try a little of Hunt's Mettleless." Mr. Hunt, whose absence the *jeu d'esprit* was uttered, returned the compliment on Monday. "Had I been in my place," said the Orator, "I should have replied, as good-humouredly to the honourable gentleman as he spoke of me and my trade—Sir, the only difference between you and me is this: your father was the first man of your family who was a gentleman, and my father was the first gentleman of his family who was a tradesman." As soon as Mr. Yates Peet learned to say as good a thing, he let it off. Six months have been allowed, and the odds of time are very high.

The gallant veterans of the Egyptian army, and navy celebrated by a grand dinner at the United Service Club, on the 21st of March, the anniversary of that glorious day, and the fall of their immortal Chief Abercrombie. General Lord Beaufort in the Chair. Lords Howden and Cavan, Sir J. Doyle, Sir W. Houston, &c., were present.

The lobbies and all the avenues leading to the House of Commons, on Tuesday night, were excessively crowded; and when it was announced that the second reading of the Reform Bill was carried, the greatest enthusiasm manifested itself. The shouts of applause that followed were tremendous, and as the different Members who it was known were favourable to the measure left the House, they were loudly cheered. The passage along to the street continued lined with people anxious to hear the result, and they highly complimented several of the popular Members as they passed to their carriages; but when Lord John Russell was discovered, the neighbourhood of the speaker and the Mace could not induce the spectators to restrain their enthusiasm; they raised the loudest shouts, which were continued till his Lordship had passed to his carriage. More hearty and enthusiastic cheers were never heard.

Lists of the Majority and Minority on the Reform Question are now fast circulating through the country—the Majority in red and the Minority in black ink. God help the poor black sheep when the day of retribution comes. Large orders have arrived in town for rotten eggs. What have these to do with rotten boroughs?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S LEVEE.—At the last levee of the Lord Chancellor among other noble and distinguished guests, the Court circular mentions the Duke of Wellington? *Omnia versantur urna.*

EARL DARNLEY.—This nobleman expired very suddenly on Thursday, at his seat at Cobham Hall. It was known that his Lordship's death was indisposed; but no apprehension of danger was entertained. His Lordship's death first announced at a late hour to the company assembled at the St. Patrick's dinner; we believe that it was not known even to his relations in town until Thursday evening. Earl Darnley was sixty-four years of age, he leaves two sons and one daughter.

BOMBAY: Printed and Published for the PROPRIETORS by SHREEKRISHNA J. AGONNA THURIE, at the Courier Press, No 7, Bell-lane, where all communications addressed to the Editor, will be received.